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From the London Patriot.

British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

June 12th, 1840.

This important Convention of Delegates from the Anti-Slavery Associations, and other public bodies, of Great Britain, the British colonies, France, Switzerland, and the United States, was opened on Friday, the 12th inst. at Freemason's hall, Great Queen street. The list of delegates returned amounts to nearly five hundred. Among those present at the opening of the session we recognised, besides the well known members of the Anti-Slavery Committee, Dr. R. K. Greville, of Edinburgh; J. G. Birney, Esq. of New-York; Daniel O'Connell, Esq. M. P.; Edward Baines, Esq. M. P.; W. T. Blair, Esq. of Bath; Captain Charles Stuart; Rev. W. Knibb; George Thompson, Esq.; Rev. J. Burnet; Captain C. R. Morsom; the Rev. J. A. James, of Birmingham; David Turnbull, Esq. of Paris; G. F. Angas, Esq.; J. R. Mills, Esq.; Mr. Justice Jeremie; James Whitehorne, Esq. of Bristol: Rev. J. H. Johnston, Vicar of Tilshead; Isaac Crewdson, Esq. of Manchester; Rev. T. Scales, of Leeds: Rev. W. Bevan, of Liverpool; William Morgan, Esq. of Birmingham; H. B. Stanton, Esq. of New-York; Wendell Phillips, Esq of Boston, &c. &c.

Mr. Blair, the late Mayor of Bath, before the proceedings commenced, stated that Mr. Clarkson had arrived; but upon his entering the meeting, he thought, instead of expressing the feelings they entertained towards that venerable man by any cheering, they should show their respect by receiving him standing.

Thomas Clarkson, Esq. then entered the room, supported by J. Sturge, Esq. and William Dilworth Crewdson, Esq. and accompanied by his daughter-in-law and grandson.

Mr. William Allen.—I have been requested by the Committee to propose to this numerous and respectable assembly, that our venerable and venerated friend, Thomas Clarkson, Esq. be Chairman of this Convention.

Mr. Birney, of New-York, seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. Joseph Sturge said,—I hope I shall be excused for making one or two remarks before the business of the meeting commences. Those who have known our dear and venerable Chairman only through the unimpaired intellectual vigor evinced in a work which has recently appeared before the public, can little estimate how much he suffers from bodily weakness, and what a sacrifice it has been to him to comply with the unanimous wish of the committee that he would preside on this occasion, or how much cause we have for thankfulness that he is yet spared to be amongst us, for however short a period, at the age of more than 80 years. On the last occasion that our dear friend appeared in public, except the one when the freedom of this city was presented to him at the Guildhall, he was so overcome by the heat of the room, and the applause of the audience, that he was unable to proceed with his address; but the kind and delicate manner in which this assembly have now abstained from the usual expressions of approbation will, I trust, spare him any of those painful sensations on the present occasion. Anxious as the committee have been to afford all the sincere friends of the cause who desired it an opportunity of being present at this Convention, they have found it needful, if they would avoid giving offence, strictly to adhere to the rule laid down for granting tickets of admission; but I am sure they will not be charged with partiality because they have made a few exceptions, at the express request of the Chairman. I allude to one of these, for the purpose of introducing the only living representative of Thomas Clarkson, and who bears his name. [Mr. Sturge here took the youth by the hand, but was so much affected, as to be for some time unable to proceed. The deep sympathy of the meeting was audibly testified.] It was the particular wish of the father of our cause, and whose labours extend over a period of 56 years, that his grandson should be present; and I hope I shall not in the least degree wound the delicacy of his widowed parent, by saying, in her presence, that it is the dearest wish of her heart, that her darling and only child should consecrate his future life to the great object which we are this day met to promote. It is an interesting fact, which I did not know till yesterday, that this is the birthday (nine years) of the youthful Thomas Clarkson; and if I venture to give expression to the earnest prayer of my heart, that the blessing of God may rest upon him, and that, with the descending mantle of his venerable and venerated ancestor, he may catch a double portion of his spirit, I am sure it will find a response in the bosom of very many in this assembly—(Cries of 'Amen')—as well as the earnest hope, that when we may some of us be removed to that bourne where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest, and where all distinctions of clime and color will be swept away for ever, he may live to see the day when the Divine blessing shall have so eminently crowned this great cause of justice and of mercy, which we are this day met to promote, that the sun shall cease to rise upon a tyrant, or set upon a slave.

The venerable Chairman then rose and said. My dear friends, I stand before you, a humble individual whose life has been most intimately connected with the subject which you are met this day to consider. I was formerly, *under providence*, the *originator*, and am now unhappily the only surviving member of the committee which was first instituted in this country, in the year 1787, for the abolition of the slave trade. My dear friend and fellow-laborer, Mr. Wilberforce, who was one of them, is, as you know, dead; and here I may say of him, that there never was a man, either dead or living, to whom your cause was more indebted than to him. My dear friend and fellow-laborer, William Smith, the late member for Norwich, who was another of them, is dead also, by whose indefatigable exertions for nearly fifty years, both in and out of parliament, it was most vigorously supported. As to the rest of the committee, Samuel Hoare, William Dilwyn, George Harrison, Richard Phillips, and the other dear friends, whose names I am sorry that I cannot at this moment recollect, these also are all dead, and gone no doubt to their eternal rest. My dear friends, I was invited many months ago to be at this meeting, but old age and infirmities, being lame and nearly blind, and besides being otherwise seriously affected at times, gave me no hope of attending. At length I have been permitted to come among you; and I rejoice in it, if *I were only allowed to say in this place*, in reference to *your future labors*, 'Take courage, be not dismayed, go on, persevere to the last; you will always have pleasure from the thought of having done so.' I myself can say with truth, that though my body is fast going to decay, my *heart* beats as warmly in this *sacred* cause, now in the 81st year of my age, as it did at the age of 24, when I first took it up. And I can say further with truth, that if I had another life given me to live, I would devote it to the same object so far for your encouragement and perseverance. My dear friends, you have a most difficult task to perform; it is neither more nor less than the extirpation of slavery from the *whole world*. Your opponents, who appear the most formidable, are the cotton and other planters in the southern parts of the United States; who, I am grieved to say, hold more *than two millions of their fellow-creatures in the most cruel bondage*. Now, we know of these men, that they are living in the daily habits of injustice, cruelty, and oppression, and may be, therefore, said to have no true fear of God, nor any just sense of religion. You cannot therefore expect to have the same hold upon the consciences of these, as you have upon the consciences of others. How then can you get at these so as to influence their conduct? There is but one way, you must endeavor to make *them feel their guilt in its consequences*. You must endeavor by all justifiable means to affect their temporal interests. You must endeavor, among other things to have the produce of *free tropical labor* brought into the markets of Europe and undersell them there, and if you can do this, *your victory is sure*. I have therefore only now to say, may the Supreme Ruler of all human events, at whose disposal are not only the hearts but the intellects of men, may *He*, in his abundant mercy, guide your councils and give his blessing upon your labors.

Mr. Isaac Crewdson said—It is of very great importance to the comfort of our venerable president that the solemn feeling which has been over the meeting should be continued whilst we are favored with his presence. I trust, that by the exercise of this feeling he may be permitted to remain with us longer than he now anticipates. I should be sorry if he stayed to weary or oppress himself, but for a few minutes it may be interesting to him to see what is the course which this meeting intends to pursue in the prosecution of its important labors. In the first place, I have to introduce to the meeting a communication from Lord Brougham, on whom two gentlemen with myself waited yesterday to inform him as an old, a very active, and a powerful friend of the cause in which we are now interested, of what was going forward, and to request of him, if it were possible, even for a few minutes only, to give his attendance at this meeting. I am sorry to say that the state of his health, and the depression of his spirits consequent on domestic affliction, are such that he thinks it necessary to decline—that he sent a letter last night, addressed to me, which I will request our friend, the Rev. T. Scales, to read to the meeting.

The Rev. T. Scales then read the following letter:—

House of Lords, Thursday.

Gentlemen—I am much honored by the request which you have made to me through your deputation this morning, that I would attend the meeting of delegates to-morrow; and I assure you that it is very painful for me to be under the necessity of refusing But the state of my health has been such for some time past, that I am barely able to discharge those duties in this place from which I cannot withdraw, and I have been compelled to lay down a rule against going to any public meeting whatever. Of all the instances in which I have been obliged to follow this rule, there is no one which has given me greater pain; for I need hardly say how deeply I feel interested in whatever concerns the great cause which brings you together. I earnestly hope that all your proceedings may be guided by the same wisdom and animated by the same zeal which have from the earliest period of the controversy been displayed by the friends of humanity and justice; and I trust that under the blessing of Providence continued to their exertions, our earnest desires may finally be crowned with success.

I have the honor to be, gentlemen,
Your faithful and humble servant,
BROUGHAM.

To the Committee of Management of Delegates:

Upon a motion for that purpose, it was unanimously agreed that Mr. Blair, Mr. Joseph Sturge, Mr. Birney and Mr. Greville, should be requested to become Vice Chairmen of the meeting.

The Rev. Mr. Knibb presented, on behalf of 300,000 emancipated slaves in Jamaica, the only tribute they had to give to Mr. Clarkson—the certificate of the propriety of their conduct since they had been made free.

Mr. Tredgold, the secretary of the society, read the circular calling the convention.

Mr. George Stacey said he had been unexpectedly called upon to move a resolution, which was, that Mr. Scoble, Mr. Stanton, Mr. Scales, Mr. Bevan and Mr. Phillips should be secretaries.

Mr. Thomas Mott moved the next resolution, which was that Mr. Holmes, Mr. Tredgold, Mr. J. Cooper, and Mr. Henry Petty, be appointed a committee to superintend the publication of their proceedings.

The Rev. J. Angell James seconded the resolution, which was put and carried.

Mr. G. Thompson rose to propose the next resolution.—He felt, that, however anxious he might be to express his sentiments on the great objects of the meeting, in the presence of those champions of human rights then around him, on whom the eyes of many of them had that day gazed for the first time, he did not think that was the stage of their proceedings at which it would be consistent with good taste to trespass on the time of the convention. (Hear, hear.) Their proceedings were then only preliminary, and had merely a reference to the means of affording them hereafter the opportunity of fully expressing their views on all those topics connected with the interests of the cause in which they were embarked. He might, however, be allowed to express his gratification at finding himself in the presence of those who had labored in the cause of the abolition of slavery, both in this country and on the other side of the Atlantic. They had then among them not only the tried and trusted friends of freedom on this side of the Atlantic, but those also who had labored and suffered more than language could express in the same cause in the western hemisphere of our world. He was anxious that the Chairman should know that his advice and encouragement were appreciated by those who had been permitted that day to behold him for the first time. He trusted, too, that the example which he had set would be imitated by those who had that day seen him. The Hon. gentleman then moved a series of resolutions to the effect that the convention shall meet twice a day, at ten in the morning, and at four in the afternoon; that all resolutions should be submitted to the Secretary the day before they were proposed; that the business which would come before the meeting should be announced the day before; that a committee should be appointed to prepare resolutions, &c.; that any member of the Convention who wished to speak, should previously send in his card to the Chairman, and that each member should not speak for more than twenty minutes at a time.

Mr. O'Connell here entered, but in consequence of the age of the chairman and the necessity of quietude, his entrance was not hailed with cheers.

The Rev. Nathaniel Colver seconded the resolution.

Mr. J. Canning Fuller, of New-York, objected to the necessity which it was proposed to impose on speakers of sending in their cards beforehand.

The secretary said that that resolution would be a source of great convenience.

Mr. Fuller could not approve of the resolution. He had belonged to a convention in America, and he liked short speeches. He had not come a distance of 3,000 miles to listen to long addresses.

Rev. J. A. James thought it would be inconvenient if in the discussion of any subject the speaker should be tied down to twenty minutes. He would therefore suggest, that after the words "twenty minutes," the words "except by permission of the chairman," should be introduced. Many persons might have information of the utmost importance to communicate, which they might not be able to do in twenty minutes.

Mr. Sturge moved that every gentleman, on rising to address the meeting, should announce his name. This was in conformity with the general practice in public assemblies of this description.

The motion having been seconded,

Mr. G. Thompson suggested that the resolution should be altered in conformity with Mr. Sturge's motion in the following manner:—"That each gentleman desirous of addressing the meeting should either send up his card to the Chairman, or announce his name."

Dr. Bowring thought that experiencce had shown that the Parliamentary practice was the best—that those who caught the eye of the Chairman should be considered as in possession of the meeting. If the practice of sending up cards to the Chairman were adopted, they might have 50 or 100 persons sending up their cards, and all desirous of speaking to one subject. He should suggest the propriety of omitting that resolution altogether.

Mr. G. Thompson thought it would be better to put the resolutions *seriatim*, and then they could be accepted or rejected, *sub silentio*. The first resolution relating to the sitting of the Convention was then put and carried. The second, third, and fourth, were also put and carried without discussion.

On the fourth resolution being put, which proposed that persons intending to address the Convention on any subject, should previously send their cards to the Chairman,

Mr. J. C. Fuller moved that it be omitted.

The Rev. J. Burnet seconded Mr. Fuller's amendment, which was put and carried, and the resolution consequently was omitted.

The next resolution proposed was to the effect that no speaker should occupy more than twenty minutes in addressing the meeting, except the opener of a proposition, who might be allowed ten minutes more.

Rev. J. A. James would move that the words "except by special permission of the Chairman," be added to the resolution.

The Rev. J. Burnet objected to the proposition, as throwing too great responsibility on the Chairman; and he thought no speaker would be called on to close his remarks when the 20 minutes had elapsed.

After a few words from Mr. Wilson, of Nottingham,

Mr. Bradburn, a member of the Legislature of Massachusetts, said that he could not see why the proposer of a resolution to the meeting should have additional time allowed him, or why he should have two speeches while others were allowed but one.

Dr. Bowring hoped the resolution would not be persisted in, as he was convinced the less they fettered their proceedings the better.

The amendment was then put and negatived, and it was understood that the original resolution was withdrawn.

The other resolutions proposed by Mr. Thompson were then put and carried.

The Chairman then called upon

Mr. O'Connell, who said, in obedience to so sacred a command, he would venture, however unworthy, to address this great Convention. One idea was first impressed upon his mind and understanding. Much had been done by Great Britain on behalf of our colored fellow men. Emancipation was a great and majestic act, and most valuable even in itself was the extinction in all parts of the British dominions, except, indeed, the East Indies, of slavery.—Still there had been left a terrible blot on the escutcheon of human nature. The slave trade was left behind. (Hear.) This was a Convention the most important that ever assembled. (Hear.) To it came men from hundreds and thousands of miles distant—not with a selfish motive—not even alone for the pride and pleasure of participating in the great and ennobling work—but from sincere philanthropy to the human race—(Hear.)—and it included delegates from all parts of the world, even from America—certainly from all parts of the British empire—and none ought to be exempt from co-operation. (Hear.) In the chair he was happy to see the patriarch of liberty. (Hear, hear.) He was glad that the venerable gentleman had lived to see the brightening of a day, the dawn of which the fervor of his youth could scarcely have hoped to see. (Hear, hear.) His was the purest of all fame, that of doing good. (Hear, hear.) They were not met here only to talk, or display talent—that would be insufficient; they must direct their minds to some practical movement. Forward must be the word. (Hear, hear.) They must speedily adopt practical means for establishing corresponding and co-operating societies all over the world. (Hear, hear.) It was a gratifying thing to hear that Massachusetts had declared the first clause of American Independence to be utterly inconsistent with slavery, and on that ground alone it should be abolished. (Hear, hear.) At present it was only in the East Indies that slavery, under the British rule, existed. There not only the laborers were slaves, but the great mass of the population were serfs, completely under the sway of the East India Company, to be ground down by the 'land rent' exactions at its will. (Hear, hear.) Their should be a glorious combination of Anti-Slavery Societies all over the world, and no motives should be allowed to mar the disinterested sincerity of their efforts. He was rejoiced to see their Chairman among them. He was happy to find himself in a Convention, to the members of which no selfish motives could by any possibility be attributed. Let them persevere in their efforts, and they would raise the entire of the human race from a state of slavery and degradation to that liberty which was the best preparative for receiving the truths of Christianity and the blessings of civilization.

Mr. Fuller wished to make an appeal to the Hon. gentleman who had just addressed the Convention, and he hoped he would be excused for doing so. There was a charm in the name of Daniel O'Connell all over the universe, and he believed that Mr. O'Connell could do more for the suppression of slavery in the United States than any other man could do. Some of their Irish brethren were among the principal supporters of slavery in America, and he was persuaded that if Mr. O'Connell issued an address to the Irish there, in favor of the abolition of slavery, such an address would lead to the best results.

Mr. O'Connell would assure the Hon. gentleman that he wanted no additional stimulus to carry into effect a purpose which he had already in contemplation. Before the Convention broke up, he would show that gentleman such an address as he had suggested, and which he trusted would be found satisfactory.

Mr. Bradburn, of the Massachusetts legislature, next addressed the Convention. The State of Massachusetts had declared it to be the duty of Congress to abolish slavery in the American States. She had also expressed her sense of the unconstitutionality of a law existing in the slave States, by which a black citizen, when going into them, even on business, was seized, and if he could not prove his being a free man, was sold into perpetual slavery. The legislature of Massachusetts had strongly protested against the legality of such a system. He congratulated England on her being free from that sanctioning of slavery which he felt as a dishonor to his own country.

The Rev. T. Scales then read a paper on the objects of the Convention as follows:

It is of the utmost importance, in the very outset of our proceedings as a Convention, that we should virtually understand each other, and be agreed upon the ground we occupy, and the object which in our united capacity we propose to act together to accomplish.

This is necessary, that our proceedings may be uniform and consistent, and that no topics of a foreign and irrelevant character may be introduced to divide our attention, or to divert us from the one great end we all have in common.

That evils in abundance, and in a vast and frightful variety, exist throughout the world, we must all feelingly deplore, and the sooner remedies for these evils are devised and applied, so that they may be meliorated and effectually cured, we shall all readily acknowledge to be most desirable. But our attention is now called to one monstrous evil, of a character sufficiently marked and distinctive, to bear a special designation; and for the eradication and destruction of this evil, we, in our office as delegates and members of this Convention, are summoned and have come hither at the special invitation of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, that we may confirm one another in our hatred of that great wrong—in our purpose and resolutions to oppose it; and that by our calm, solemn, and enlightened deliberations, we may devise such methods of future co-operation as may, by the guidance and blessing of the Most High God, the fountain of all wisdom and goodness, and the common Father of our whole race, the more speedily conduct to its utter final overthrow in every part of our habitable world. That evil, is slavery—direct, unequivocal, absolute slavery—not other evils of a kindred character, or which in the opinion of some may be of equal or even greater magnitude, or which may be classed by some philosophical philanthropists under the same head, and called by the same name; but, if we may so speak, slavery proper in its own distinct and essential attributes.

It has been truly observed by an eloquent writer, 'that a great variety of human conditions, relations, and tenures, and some of them not only innocent in themselves, but indispensable to the social state, are often confounded with slavery.' This confusion of things which differ, has been the occasion of much mischief—has tended to weaken the convictions entertained by many, of the enormity of slavery—to confirm its upholders in their adherence to the system, and has supplied them with a plea in its justification, and an additional pretext for its continuance.

Political disabilities have been denounced as slavery, and every restriction which either civil or ecclesiastical legislation in any country has imposed upon the enjoyment of perfect liberty of conscience and of worship, has been represented as only another of its forms; but in whatever light we may regard it, and by whatever terms of reprehension we may feel ourselves moved, or deem ourselves warranted to condemn such pernicious infringement of human rights, it is only by a figure of speech that they are designated slavery; since they may exist, in their worst forms, and exert their fatal influence in countries and communities where slavery, properly so called, is entirely unknown.—The same may be predicted of many other forms of evil, of injustice and oppression, which are utterly inconsistent with the law of God and the happiness of men, but which, though they may sometimes be called slavery, must be distinguished from it, since they want its essential attributes and features. Slavery, then, is a condition in which man presumes to claim property in his fellow-man—wrests from another the right he has to himself, and assumes to be his master and owner, which reduces man, moral, responsible, immortal man, who was made in the image of God, to the state of a mindless and irresponsible brute, whom his proprietor is at liberty to use according to his own pleasure, to buy or sell, and work as any other portion of his cattle or chattels. So that it is not merely a fact, but it is the very letter of the law in many slave countries, that 'the slave is one who is bought or sold, and held as property.' The 'slaves,' being human beings, the sons of God, of the very same flesh and blood with these legislators, 'shall be deemed, taken, reputed, and adjudged, to be chattels personal in the hands of their masters, and possessors, to all intents and purposes whatsoever,' and in some also as 'real estate.'

That this is a cruel usurpation, an outrage on humanity, an insult to the God who made us, and who has made of one blood all the nations of men who dwell on all the face of the earth, is a proposition which merely to state is to prove, and which no process of reasoning can make more evident and convincing than its mere announcement, to parties who are not warped by the influence of the evil itself, or involved in its guilt, and enriched by its gains. It is not only to reverse such unrighteous decrees, but also, and even more, to rescue the unhappy victims of them, in every clime and of every color, that we thus confederate. This is our high enterprise. We come not here to arbitrate the conflicting rights of freemen; to balance or adjust the real or supposed inequalities of rank and order of precedence or subordination, as they exist in different countries and communities, and have introduced and established by the course of events and by the usages and customs, or prejudices of mankind—all these we leave untouched, they form no part of our business here, as the delegates of this Convention. I presume, we are not called to discuss and settle the wrongs and grievances of the free, but, freemen ourselves, and jealous of our rights, we meet in behalf of the despised and degraded victims of thraldom, that we may raise them from the dust, and lift them to the rank of manhood—that we may break their galling fetters and bring them into the glorious liberty which is their birthright, and thus roll away from religion and from the respective countries to which we belong, and which we come hither to represent, the stain and reproach by which they have been so long dishonored.

Early in the last year the project of forming a society for the Abolition of slavery and the slave trade, occupied the attention of some of those friends of the negro race, whose exertions under the blessings of God, had so materially contributed to achieve the great work of emancipation in our own colonies. In the month of March, an invitation was sent to all the delegates who had assembled in London in the years 1833, 1837, and 1838, to meet at Exeter Hall, on Wednesday, April 17th, for the purpose of considering the propriety of the formation of a Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade throughout the world, by moral, religious, and other influences, no sanction being given to the employment of an armed force. Great care was taken to make this invitation as extensive as possible, so that it might embrace the great constituency who had been so active in the previous struggle. On the day appointed, a considerable body of gentlemen assembled in Exeter Hall, almost the whole of them having come up from the country, prepared to express not only their own feelings, but those of the friends of the cause generally with whom they had held consultation. The meeting was attended by the Right Hon. Dr. Lushington, Sir George Strickland, Sir Eardley Wilmot, and Mr. Turner, members of Parliament, and was especially indebted to the first of these gentlemen for the sedulous attention which he paid to the business of the day, and the facilities he afforded for the settlement of some difficulties which arose.

The general grounds and objects of the movement were set forth by Mr. Sturge, to whom it is not out of place or at all invidious in me here to state, which I do most fervently and cordially, and from my own knowledge, that our great cause, and the cause of humanity itself, owes a large debt, and whom both hemispheres may delight to hail and to honor.

The Society was then constituted, and the following resolutions, as its basis, and for its future government, were adopted on the succeeding day:—

I. That the name of this Society be, The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

II. That the object of the Society be the universal extinction of slavery and the slave trade, and the protection of the rights and interests of the enfranchised population in the British possessions, and of all persons captured as slaves.

III. That the following be the fundamental principles of the Society—that so long as slavery exists there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the slave trade, and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings; that the extinction of slavery and the slave trade will be attained most effectually by the employment of those means which are of a moral, religious, and pacific character; and that no measures be resorted to by this Society in the prosecution of these objects, but such as are in entire accordance with these principles.

IV. That the following be among the means to be employed by this Society:—

'1. To circulate, both at home and abroad, accurate information on the enormities of the slave trade and slavery; to furnish evidence to the inhabitants of the slaveholding countries not only of the practicability, but of the pecuniary advantage of free labor; to diffuse authentic intelligence respecting the results of emancipation in Hayti, the British colonies, and elsewhere; to open a correspondence with the abolitionists in America, France, and other countries, and to encourage them in the prosecution of their objects, by all methods consistent with the principles of this Society.

'2. To recommend the use of free-grown produce, as far as practicable, in preference to slave-grown, and to promote the adoption of fiscal regulations in favor of free labor.

'3. To obtain the unequivocal recognition of the principle, that the slave, of whatever clime or color, entering any portion of the British dominions, shall be free, the same as upon the shores of the United Kingdom, and to carry this principle into full and complete effect.

'4. To recommend that every suitable opportunity be embraced for evincing, in our intercourse with slaveholders and their apologists, our abhorrence of the system which they uphold, and our sense of its utter incompatibility with the spirit of the Christian religion.'

Almost coeval with the formation of the Society, was the consideration of a proposal for holding a General Convention on the 31st May, 1839. The attention of the Committee was called to this object in a communication from the Birmingham Anti-Slavery Society, quoting from an article in the *New-York Emancipator* of March 21st, 1838. A sub-committee was at once appointed to prepare a circular, which was adopted at a subsequent meeting, and ordered to be extensively issued in the English language, and also to be translated into other languages. This circular contained the fundamental principles of the Society, and concluded in these words—'The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,' &c.

Thus cordially invited, the friends of humanity and of the slave have as cordially responded, and have come from the east and west, the north and south, to unite with those who have called them together in this hallowed Convention—to discuss a question of the deepest interest to the human family—and to devise means for bringing to a speedy termination all those forms of slavery, and that revolting traffic in slaves, which has done so much to blight and desolate some of the largest and fairest portions of our globe. Most fervently do I wish and pray—and do I presume in indulging and expressing my conviction that this august assembly has already in spirit devoutly breathed the aspiration to Him from whom all holy desires, all good counsels, and all just works do proceed!—that he may inspire our hearts with love, and our councils with wisdom, and deign to employ and bless our efforts to the triumph of righteousness, mercy, and the world's deliverance.

The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in thus announcing itself to the friends of the slave of every nation, strongly urges it upon them, wherever it may be practicable, to associate themselves, and unitedly as well as individually, to labor for the extinction of slavery—a system which, whether regarded in a political, moral, or religious point of view, is alike inimical to the prosperity of nations, corrupting and demoralizing to every community in which it exists, and utterly at variance with the spirit and precepts of Christianity. For the purpose of promoting this great and truly Christian object, the Society has concluded to hold a General Conference in London, to commence on the 12th of June 1840, in order to deliberate on the best means of promoting the interests of the slave, of obtaining his immediate and unconditional freedom, and, by every pacific measure, to hasten the utter extinction of the slave trade. To this Conference they earnestly invite the friends of the slave of every nation and of every clime.

Mr. E. Baines, M. P., rose to propose the next resolution. The honorable gentleman commenced by expressing the pleasure which he felt in once more meeting his old and venerable friend Thomas Clarkson, for whom he entertained those feelings of veneration and gratitude that were entertained towards him by the friends of liberty throughout the world. He was happy, also, to meet so great a number of influential men of almost all countries and all climes, who had come hither to promote this great and godlike work; and he trusted they would feel that enjoyment and that reward which alone they sought, namely, the accomplishment of their object He trusted that they would unite with them all the lovers of liberty, and that they would continue the exercise of the spirit of benevolence, and as his honorable and learned friend (Mr. O'Connell) had well said, that they would make a movement in advance, and never cease till they had obtained the civil and religious liberty of all mankind. (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. J. H. Johnson said it was with feelings of great pleasure, as a friend to universal freedom, he rose to second the motion. He did so with pleasure, not only from the unanimity of feeling which prevailed amongst them, but also because he saw thus persons of every shade of political and religious opinions united in the great object of expediting that glorious time when men should love each other as brethren, by seeking to remove from the face of the earth the greatest curse which ever had been inflicted on mankind. (Hear, hear, hear.)

Mr. Joseph Sturge said that although the Society was most anxious to have their venerable Chairman among them, he feared if he remained longer he would be too much exhausted, and he would therefore propose that a person who was now in the room, and who was a slave himself not three years ago, though now the head of a small religious congregation in Jamaicai should be introduced to him, and shake hands with the person to whom he was so much indebted for his present freedom, after which his venerable friend would leave the chair.

Mr. Henry Beckford, a man of color, then ascended the platform, and cordially shook hands with the venerable Chairman and his grandson, after which, turning to the assembly, he said (as nearly as from the low tone in which he spoke, we could collect his words—I am desirous of returning thanks to Almighty God, who has been so kind and merciful as to look with compassion upon those who were confined in slavery, and to restore us to our liberty; I rejoice to see here the root of that Society by whose instrumentality this has been effected. You have heard of slavery—I have felt it—I have seen the blood shed by it. (Hear, hear.)—I have seen my brethren and sisters confined in ropes and chains; and, oh! how my soul rejoiced to see the day when we were restored to freedom. Slavery brings a man down to the level of the beasts. The slave-owner regards the slave no more than the cattle which he turns out in his fields to feed. Oh! may we not rejoice that when we return none can say to us—'Where have you been this long time?' (Hear, hear.) I rejoice to meet you here. I come here as a freeman. I shall remain so. I shall return as such to my native land and friends. Oh! look on me, and work on. I was a slave twenty-eight years. Oh! look on me, and work on until every man and woman is as free as I am this day, until slavery is abolished throughout the world. I am thankful for being present here, and I hope, friends, you will feel the blessing of God in this assembly, and that he will touch your hearts and minds to do his work, and incline you to be servants to do his pleasure When I consider that I was a slave—not in soul, for I trust it had been redeemed by the Lord, but in body—that I have suffered bonds and the punishment of the lash, should I not rejoice that I am present here as a freeman? I do rejoice, I thank God and you for it—and I trust God will bless you for all you have done for us. (Cheers.)

The Rev. Henry Grew presented to the venerable chairman (on behalf of Mr. Samuel Webb, of Philadelphia) a copy of the History of Pennsylvania Hall, as a token of respect to the character of that reverend pioneer of liberty.

The venerable Chairman then left the room, all the audience remaining standing.

Mr. W. T. Blair was then called to the chair, shortly after which Mr. O'Connell left the room amidst loud and general applause.

The Chairman said it was obvious that a meeting like the present must be composed of persons entertaining a great variety of opinions upon political and other subjects, although united as to the one great object that had brought them together. He hoped, therefore, that no opinions or expressions would escape in the ardor of discussion which would hurt the prejudices or wound the feelings of any one—(Hear, hear)—that a spirit of forbearance and conciliation would be observed throughout their proceedings—and that nothing would occur to clash with the important objects of the Association. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. George Thompson had a resolution to propose which did not require from him a single observation. These proceedings would, in his opinion, be incomplete without it, and he would, without further remark, read it for the meeting. Mr. Thompson then read the resolution, which was to the effect that the meeting hailed with sincere gratitude to Almighty God the presence among them of their venerated friend, Thomas Clarkson.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. Phillips, but, on the suggestion of Mr. Sturge, withdrawn for the present.

The remainder of this session was occupied in the discussing the admission of women delegates, which we gave in our last number.

British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

The Annual Anniversary Meeting of this Society took place June 24th, at Exeter Hall, his Royal Highness, the Duke of Sussex, in the chair.

Before the commencement of the business of the meeting, the Rev. Mr. Scales, the Secretary to the Society, came forward, and announced that the venerable and venerated father of the great and noble cause in which they were engaged, Thomas Clarkson, intended to be present for a short time at the meeting—(Loud cheering)—but the state of his health was so infirm that the excitement of any strong feeling would be too much for him; he had therefore to request that when he made his appearance the utmost stillness might prevail; he had made that announcement in order to prevent any demonstration of applause on his appearance, which would overcome their venerable friend in the present infirm state of his health.

Shortly afterwards, his Royal Highness, the Duke of Sussex, came upon the platform. On his first appearance his Royal Highness was mistaken by many of those present for Mr. Clarkson, but when he came forward and was recognised, the shouts of applause with which he was received were absolutely deafening. The Duchess of Sutherland rose to receive his Royal Highness, and her example was followed by all present. His Royal Highness shook hands cordially with her Grace, who sat to the right of the chair, and also with M. Guizot, and took his seat amidst the loudest applause and waving of hats and handkerchiefs from all parts of the immense assembly.

His Royal Highness, the Duke of Sussex, then rose, and was received with loud cheering, which lasted several minutes: he addressed the meeting at some length, and sat down amidst loud applause.

After the conclusion of his Royal Highness's speech, Mr. O'Connel appeared upon the platform, and was received with the most enthusiastic cheering. When the cheering had ceased, there was an attempt at disapprobation by a little knot of persons, not exceeding half a dozen, in a remote corner of the hall, which, however, had only the effect of producing a tremendous round of applause from all parts of the meeting. When the cheering had subsided

Mr. Joseph Sturge came forward, and said that their venerable friend, Thomas Clarkson, was in an adjoining room, and as it was probably the last public opportunity he would have of meeting the friends of the cause, he was desirous of saying a few words at the conclusion of the reading of the Report. The delicate state of his health had rendered it desirable that he should remain outside until their Royal Chairman had delivered his address, and he would take that opportunity of informing the Royal Chairman, that at his first entrance into that meeting, some little mistake had occurred, many of those present having imagined that their venerable friend Thomas Clarkson had then entered. On account of the weak state of the health of their venerable friend, he trusted that they would abstain from any expression of popular feeling at the concluston of the few words which he was desirous of addressing to them. The son of their venerable friend, Thomas Clarkson, had died some years ago, and had left one son behind him. That grandson, and his widowed mother, would accompany him into the room, and that child was the only male representative of the venerable Thomas Clarkson.—(Cheers.)

The Chairman said they would understand that while Mr. Clarkson was present, they would abstain from every expression of approbation, but that when he retired they were at liberty to do as they liked.—(Cheers.)

Shortly afterwards Mr. Clarkson, accompanied by his daughter-in-law and grandson, entered the room, and took his seat on the left of the illustrious Chairman, who shook him cordially by the hand. The most profound silence was observed, and the venerable gentleman and his orphan grandchild appeared to be objects of the deepest interest and sympathy to all present. Although feeble, we are happy to state that the general appearance of the venerated father of the anti-slavery movement betokened that he was in the enjoyment of as good health as at his advanced period of life commonly falls to the lot of a human being.

An abstract from the Report was read.

Mr. George W. Alexander read the financial statement of the Committee from the 1st April, 1839, to the 31st May, 1840.

Mr. Joseph Sturge, in announcing that his venerable friend, Thomas Clarkson, would now address the meeting, entreated that he should be received and heard with perfect stillness.

The meeting having, with no small difficulty, "hushed" itself into silence,

Mr. Clarkson said—May it please your Royal Highness, and ladies and gentlemen, I come to you in very advanced years, and in a feeble state of health—for which you must make an allowance. It cheers my heart—it does me good—to see such a respectable assemblage of individuals, on such an occasion. I congratulate you in having his Royal Highness, the Duke of Sussex, in the chair. To him I have been long attached for his Liberal sentiments, but particularly for the readiness which he has shown to come forward on all philanthropic occasions. It gives me great pleasure to think that another illustrious member of the Royal Family has distinguished himself in the same way on another occasion, when I am sorry I was not able to attend. Ladies and gentlemen, I have been greatly gratified during the meetings of the Anti-Slavery Convention, to see so many good men met together from various parts of the world—men selected for their moral worth. To the moral man such a sight is a beautiful picture of itself. But when I consider that those good men met together for the heavenly purpose of breaking the chains of the oppressed, and of generously assisting those whom they have known only by their sufferings, and who, moreover, have no means whatever of assisting themselves, the gratification which I have felt has been turned into admiration and delight. Surely these meetings must have been acceptable to God. Has he not said in the Old Testament "I will have mercy and not sacrifice?" That is, I prefer the warm and tender affections of the heart, when they break forth into practical benevolence to the mere observance of the most important ceremony of the Jewish religion. Has he not said again in the same book, with reference to another religious custom of those times, "The fast that I have chosen is to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and to break every yoke?" Is not the New Testament also full of the same delightful sentiments? Such meetings as these, therefore, cannot but be acceptable to God, and as they must be acceptable to him, so I hope we may look upon them as happy omens of our ultimate success. Ladies and gentlemen, permit me to take this opportunity before I return home, for I shall have no other, of thanking those individuals, many, very many of whom are now sitting with you, for the kind attention and respect which they have shown me during the last fortnight. I must, however, in point of fairness, put down all this kindness, not to myself alone, but to my connexion with the great and good cause in which I have been engaged. It must be borne in mind that I could have done but little in it as an individual. What could I have done without the powerful assistance of my dear and revered friend, Mr. Wilberforce? and what could he and I have done together without the assistance of thousands of others! I take no particular credit to myself for having taken a part in it, more than others, who did the same. Each was actuated by his own view of the subject, and the feelings which this view of it occasioned. As to myself, I was literally forced into it. I will relate, in a few words, how this happened. I was thinking one day in a more serious and solemn manner than I had ever done before of the multiplied injuries which the unhappy people who are now the objects of your sympathy, were made to undergo in Africa, on their passage, and in the colonies. All the tragical scenes which occurred in these their different situations passed in horrible review before me, and my compassion for their sufferings was at that moment so great, so intense, so overwhelming, as to have overpowered me, and compelled me to form the resolution which I dared not resist—it was at my peril to resist—of attempting their deliverance. Thus I was forced into the great work. I did, therefore, only what it was my duty to have done under such circumstances—I had only the merit of obeying the extraordinary impulse on my mind. I have often indulged the belief that this feeling might have come from God; to him, therefore, and not to such a creature as myself, you are to attribute all the honour and all the glory.

As the venerable gentleman resumed his seat, the Duke of Sussex shook him cordially by the hand, and a murmur of applause, with difficulty repressed, spread through the meeting.

M. Isambert, who was introduced as a Member of the French Chamber of Deputies, Judge of the Court of Cassation (Paris), and Secretary to the Anti-Slavery Society of France, made an address, (in French) which was translated by Doct. Bowring.

The Rev. Mr. Scales wished to make an observation on one point. In the report to which they had listened, a reference was made to the constitution, the principles, and the objects of the Society. It was important that those principles should be kept constantly in view. The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society as its title bore, had been established for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world. His Royal Highness in the chair had asked whether in seeking those objects the Society would be ready to embroil nations, and to expose them to the evils of warfare. He would answer of course that they would not, for however monstrous might be the evils which they endeavoured to remove—however wide might be their spread, and however strongly they might be entrenched, though the traders of the earth might unite to uphold them, and though potentates should throw over them their protecting shield, the Society would not and dared not use any other means for their suppression, than those which were moral and religious—(Cheers)—than those means which they believed to be warranted and sanctioned by the lessons of the Lord Jesus Christ.—(Loud Cheers.) The Society wished not to use carnal weapons, but those spiritual influences which were "mighty through God;" and under the blessing of God those enlightened principles which Christianity inculcated must eventually succeed. The resolution was as follows:—"That this meeting, in reviewing the proceedings of the Society during the first year of its existence, feels called upon to acknowledge with gratitude the degree in which it has been enabled to fulfil the purposes for which it was established, especially in awakening attention, both in this and other countries, to the dreadful enormities of slavery and the slave-trade—enormities which call for the united philanthropy of the world for their extermination."

His Royal Highness then vacated the chair, and left the Hall amidst great cheering."

James G. Birney, of New York, also addressed the meeting, after which Mr. Clarkson withdrew from the meeting, amid much cheering.

Dr. Lushington spoke at considerable length, and then

Mr. O'Connell was introduced to the meeting, and received with enthusiastic and protracted cheering. He said—I have a long resolution, sir, to propose, and I ought to make compensation for the length of the resolution by the shortness of my speech, although I never felt more disposed to make a long one.—(Hear, hear, and laughter.) Upon the subject on which we are combined there is much to rejoice at—much to congratulate ourselves upon—a good deal to apprehend—and enormous mischief still remaining to be remedied and redressed.—(Hear, hear.) We have a good deal to congratulate ourselves upon. We have to congratulate England, in the face of the world, in having set that mighty and magnificent example of the emancipation of nearly one million of human beings, and having consented, in addition, gratuitously to compensate those who were not entitled to any compensation—(Hear, hear)—entitled to no compensation, but punishment, for long and atrocious villany.—(Hear, hear, and laughter.) I voted against that compensation—(Hear, hear)—but I should not be sorry it was granted if I saw a reciprocal spirit of kindness and benevolence on the part of those who received it. It is, sir, a mighty and a magnificent example we have given, and it tells well to the rest of the world in its immediate results; for what were we told when we were struggling for the emancipation of the negroes? Did not the planters assert, the moment they were emancipated, violence, turbulence, slaughter, and massacre would be the consequence?—(Hear, hear.)—Did not they say—"Do you want us to have our throats cut? It is not whether we shall let the negroes loose, but whether they shall outrage our wives and daughters, and slaughter ourselves." What do they say now?—(Hear, hear.) Has there been one single riot?—Hear, hear.) Has there been one single outrage?—Hear, hear.) Has there been one single assault?—(Hear, hear.) Has any thing approaching to spoliation of property, or to the murder of a single human being, been committed? Humble as I am, I stand here the triumphant advocate of the negro race.—(Loud cheers.) The negroes have much to forgive. Even the planters of Jamaica, boasting of their high spirit as English gentlemen, still kept the lash to the female negro's back to the very last moment.—(Hear, hear, and "shame." Even the chivalry of their characters as gentlemen would not let them relax the power of torture even to that sex whom they said they respected.—(Hear, hear.) The negro had much to forgive. He had to forgive the cruelty to his wife—the horrible treatment of his daughter—the torture of his son. He had to forgive the stripes that were still marked on his back by the lash of his tyrant master. Did he take revenge? No; blessed be God, he forgave all.—(Tremendous cheering.) And here I stand, proudly boasting that even the spirit of calumny itself—the disposition to tell falsehoods of every body who differ from us—a disposition that I think is as much encouraged in England as in any other land on the face of the earth—notwithstanding that disposition to slander and vituperation, no slanderer has been found, no calumniator has been discovered, vile and base enough to say the negroes have committed one single act of outrage, violence, or revenge. May we not then look to the rest of the world and tell them how easily and how safely emancipation can take place.—(cheers. Indeed it would have been a calumny on human nature to assert that it was quite safe to continue injustice—that it was perfectly secure to continue to outrage every humane feeling, and that an act of benevolence and generosity would be accompanied by a return of crime and outrage.—(Hear.) It could not be—it has not been.—(cheers.) Human nature has vindicated itself from such a charge, and we stand here now with the fact as clear as the sun at noon-day, that emancipation has not been followed by one single act of outrage.—(cheers.) But these general assertions are weak, and do not bear the same force as when you come to particular instances. Now there happens to be in this assembly a friend of mine, and I am proud to call him such—the Rev. Mr. Knibb, the Baptist Missionary.—(Loud cheers.) You do well to cheer him, he deserves it.—(Renewed cheers.) He has suffered imprisonment and the fetter—he has had execution threatened upon him—he has undergone persecution, and now he comes out triumphantly, the friend and the advocate of the unfortunate negro.—(cheers.) I take from him these facts. In the district of Montego Bay, the population of which is upwards of 125,000 beings, at the last Assize there were in gaol 19 persons charged with offences—

Mr. Knibb—only 16.

Mr. O'Connell—only 16!—(cheers)—and six of these were whites!—(Great laughter.) Now the negroes are in the proportion of fifty to one, and therefore you may imagine what the proportion of guilt between the white and the black man is when out of 16 in gaol six are whites. Well, out of the 16, 13 were acquitted, so that there remained but three actual criminals.—(cheers.) In his own parish, where the population is 35,000, there was only one prisoner in three months.—(Hear, hear.) In St. Ann's parish, with a large population, the gaol is shut up, and the key has been turned into nails for shoeing horses.—(Great laughter.) The treadmill, to be sure, was seen there, but the treadmill got rusty.—(Renewed laughter.) In the parish of Trelawney, that which Mr. Knibb belongs to, where the treadmill was actually clotted with human gore—where women were tied on that treadmill, and becoming so exhausted that they were not able to keep their steps, and the flesh was torn off their limbs—the brutal planter permitting it to be done—

Mr. Knibb—I have seen it.

Mr. O'Connell—The treadmill has got rusty there—there have not been a sufficient number of persons to turn it.—(Loud cheers.) In St. Ann's the gaol is shut up, and in Westmoreland the gaol has fallen into ruins. Now these isolated facts strike more strongly upon the human mind than hours of declamation and general assertion.—(Hear, hear.) I stand here triumphantly then with this great experiment completely worked out, that it is perfectly safe to emancipate the negro race.—(cheers.) But have we not something to fear from the planter!—(Hear, hear.) I cannot leave Jamaica without announcing to you that in the last session of the Legislature of that country abominable slavery laws were passed amid the congratulations of Sir Charles Metcalfe—(Hisses)—who, with a fatal facility, has given in to the views of the planters, and given up that generous protection which my esteemed and admired friend—how proud I am to call him so—Sir Lionel Smith showed.—(Loud cheers.) I need allude only to one of them. They have passed a combination law—a law to punish the men from combining to get wages.—(Hear.) No three negroes can now meet to regulate how much they ought to get for their wages without being subjected to this combination law. To be sure they have, by an atrocious kind of idiosyncrasy, made this law apply to masters as well as servants.—(Laughter.) It is mixing the ridiculous with the horrible. Who is to punish the master.—(Hear, hear, and laughter)—when there will be found on the bench the ruffian that ought to be in the dock?—(cheers.) As yet those laws have not received the royal assent in this country, and by the blessing of God, the name of our queen will never be subscribed to them.—(Tremendous cheering.) I know they are in operation in the mean time, that is the worst of it; and therefore no time should be lost in calling on the Secretary for the Colonies, and remonstrating with him upon the subject. I myself asked him the question whether these laws had received the royal assent. He said they had not. When I asked how many of them had been suspended, he was not then prepared to give me an answer, but I think we should ask him again—(cheering)—for although they are, as it has been said, in force in that country, would not the people of England be laughed at from one end of Europe to the other, if, after paying twenty millions of money, twelve or fourteen of which went to this very colony, they were to allow themselves to be swindled out of its value by these combination laws?—(cheers.) John Bull likes to get the full lumping value for his penny, and, therefore, I do not think the British people will allow themselves to be so cheated.—(cheers.) It is incumbent on us to take care we are not laughed at—nobody likes to be—(Laughter)—to take care the public are not swindled of their money, and to take care above all that the negro is not sent back, under the shape of laws, to a state of servitude worse than the slavery he before endured.—(Hear, hear.) The planters say they only want to be protected in free labor. But what claim have they for any assistance from the British people or Government, if, instead of free labor, they have taken care it shall be slave labor as soon as the emigrants arrive! These are subjects of the utmost importance, and glad am I to have the opportunity of proclaiming them to the good sense of the English people. The night before last we saved the Hill Coolies—(cheers)—and it will be our duty within eight and forty hours more to save the colored man in Jamaica from renewed slavery.—(cheers.) There is another portion of the British dominions where slavery still spreads its horrid influence. We were told, sir, when the Emancipation Bill passed, that the Government of the East Indies would take measures to abolish slavery there. I believe they have taken none—I know of none—it may be my ignorance; but this I know, that there are hundreds and thousands and hundreds of thousands of slaves still in our East Indian dominions, and when we proudly boast that the flag of our queen waves over none but freemen, we are obliged to make a distinction which has no difference, for the flag of the East India Company waves over hundreds and thousands of slaves.—(Hear, hear, hear.) The object of the Convention—the object of this meeting, cannot be answered, until slavery is abolished in the East Indies as it has been in the West.—(Hear, hear, hear.) And wherever

the flag of England flutters in the breeze, over any part of the dominions in the dependencies belonging to the monarch of these realms, it shall float only over freemen, and nothing but freedom shall be found beneath its influence or within its protection.—(cheers.) There is, indeed, connected with India, another subject of the most awful importance. But it is not fitted for an anti-slavery meeting. I only allude to it, because I think the friends of humanity will endeavor to remedy the evil—I mean the situation of the land tenures in India—(Hear, hear)—and the poverty and distress, and the awfully rapid famines (for we have had four of them in ten years) they create. If we look to other countries, what are our consolations. We have heard an able and eloquent French advocate of universal liberty, and I am sorry he was not able to express himself in the English language. Had he done so, he would have made an impression such as few are capable of. His sentiments were excellent, and he has long been a distinguished friend of the negro race in his own country. But, sir, I was very sorry to hear from him what they were going to do. To be sure they had already made a law that their masters are not to mutilate them. Why it is not the interests of the masters exactly to mutilate the negroes.—(Hear, hear.) I was sorry to hear him talk of the French probably postponing, for ten or twenty years, the emancipation of the negroes—it is like what the Latinists call *paulo post futurum*—(Laughter)—the prison counts by the hour, slavery reasons by the minute.—(cheers.) Talk not to me of regulations, and rules, and laws; commit them to the hands of the planters and masters, it is no matter what the law is, the parties will inflict punishment and suffering on the unfortunate negro.—(Hear, hear.) It has been well said that there is no nation on the face of the earth so fond of liberty as the French. It may be a little exaggeration, and not quite so satisfactory to humanity as to military triumph, but the French having acknowledged [illegible] ought to terminate—that principle being at once avowed, and England having set them the example, I would like to encourage the old rivalry between England and France on this topic. While Frenchmen are talking of emancipating, and talking in beautiful phraseology of doing such and such things, that they *intend* to do it, and are *about* to do it, John Bull has actually emancipated them, Mr. Frenchman—(Great laughter)—and that is the thing you ought to do.—(Cheers.) I do not wish to discourage them, but I laugh to scorn their efforts, I despise their exertions, if they attempt anything but total and immediate emancipation.—(Cheers.) That is the only rivalry except in other good qualities, that I would wish to exist between the two great nations of the world.—But we must cast our eyes further, and what do we there find? Why, countries bound by the faith of treaties, observing none of those treaties, for I am reluctantly, but by the force of truth, compelled here to declare, that this mighty sacrifice of twenty millions, this great and glorious act of emancipation of 800,000 slaves, has been followed, by what? By a most atrocious and enormous augmentation of the worst of crimes attending slavery—the slave trade.—The importation has been more than doubled, the debts have been increased 25 per cent. The result of our having emancipated slaves makes the produce of the slave colonies more valuable, and the consequence has been, that the slave trade has increased enormously. All produce of course is lessened. If it diminished from nothing else, it would from the circumstance that the negroes no longer suffered their women to labor in the field.—(Hear, hear.) [Mr. Joseph Sturge here made a communication to Mr. O'Connell.]—My phrase perhaps was not quite correct. The increase of the slave trade did not commence with the abolition of slavery—it commenced with the abolition by England of the slave trade; but it has dreadfully augmented since the period when the English abolished slavery.—(Hear, hear.)—We have treated with the Brazils, with Spain, with Portugal. The treaties are fine pieces of parchment to look at, emblazoned with the arms of monarchs; but in the mines of Brazil, for instance, a great quantity of British capital is employed, and there are British slaveholders surrounding us to the present moment. We have them in the House of Commons. It was only this morning that I heard something of the great friends of the Mauritius. I am now in possession of the fact; and if any of them speak again in another place, depend upon it I shall not be so mealy-mouthed as not to announce it.—(cheers.) In proportion as we have acted with humanity, other nations are acting with barbarity. In Baltimore it is the fashion to build vessels called "clippers;" they are used for carrying on the slave-trade, and they are made shallow in order to get up the rivers, and to sail with the greatest speed. He then came to the Texas—that nest of banditti. The Mexican Government had nobly done away with slavery—it nowhere existed in that country. All at once a band of land pirates took their slaves and rifles and robbed the Mexicans of their land. He blushed to say that the King of the French had at last acknowledged those robbers as a nation. He was sorry that the talented individual who had been amongst them—the representative of France, had retired; he (Mr. O'Connell) would have been happy that he had had it in his power to tell him of that act of his King. It was useless to talk of or to hope for the abolition of slavery in the French colonies, while the King of France encouraged wholesale robbery, murders, and slavery in the Texas. By the constitution of the country they had debarred themselves from even discussing abolition for a number of years, and even when they had expired, it could not be done unless three fourths of the people were in favor of it. They might just as well hope to get three-fourths of the people to cut their throats as to agree to annihilate slavery.—(Laughter.) Another principle of their constitution was, that they would cut the throats of every Indian in the territory—they would not allow one of the aborigines to remain alive in the land. Only lately six or seven of them had come in, had been caught, and every one of them was murdered, brutally murdered; he was informed that he was much underrating the case—that in fact the murders amounted to 30—that would entail more human suffering, but the principle was the same. He was informed that they had now twelve British subjects in slavery. Was it, could it be possible? There was no country in the world paid half so much for being governed as England—(cheers.)—they paid million after million, but did any Government deserve a farthing that would permit British subjects to remain in slavery.—(cheers.) Could it be a fact? If the atrocious crime was in existence, were not the Texians at the mercy of England. Suppose they were to send to the Mexicans a British Legion, the Texians would be apt to surrender the twelve, and twice twelve if they had them.—[Mr. Joseph Sturge whispered to him.] A friend of peace behind him, an illustrious friend of humanity—(cheers)—Joseph Sturge, had told him that the Society recommended the use of none but peaceful, and moral, and religious means. He (Mr. O'Connell) quite agreed in all that but the Texians were robbers—they had stolen twelve of our fellow-subjects, and it was quite legal to catch and hang robbers and murderers. They had been guilty of an atrocious robbery and many murders—they must therefore be treated as such. But, above all, that Meeting and that Society must speak out trumpet-tongued, in order to deter the British Government from committing so foul a crime as to recognise them as a nation. Let the Government of Europe acknowledge one slaveholding state, and all would be overrun, and slavery would acquire a fearful increase. Oh, God forbid they should ever be admitted into the scale of nations. He then came to North America, and there, thank God, he found much reason for congratulation. There were now forty representatives of Abolitition Societies in London to aid them in the great struggle for human liberty.—(cheers) They had heard a Learned and able Judge describe the horrors of the internal slave trade of North America.—(cheers.) Did they know who that learned and noble man was? He had been the proprietor of slaves himself, but he had given them all their liberty.—(Loud and continued cheers.) They had interrupted him. He not only did that, but a second batch came into his possession by patrimonial descent. He was again the proprietor of slaves, but he emancipated them.—(Cheers.) American Abolitionists might indeed be proud with Judge Birney, of New-York, at their head. Let them be honored in proportion as the slaveholders were execrated. Oh! they had a hard battle to fight. In place of being honored, as they were in this land, they had to encounter coolness and outrage; the Bowie knife and Lynch law threatened them; they were Abolitionists at the risk of their lives.—(cheers.) Glory to them.

A year or two since he made some observations upon the conduct of the American Minister; he charged him with breeding slaves for sale; he denied it; and, in order to prove who was right, he sent him (Mr. O'Connell) a challenge to fight a duel.—(Laughter.) He did not accept it. Nothing would ever induce him to commit murder. God had forbidden it, and he would obey him.—(Cheers.) The American Minister denied the charge, but he admitted that he had slaves, and he admitted that he did afterwards sell some; so let him have the benefit of such a denial.—(A laugh.) He added, however, that he did not believe that slaves were bred for sale in Virginia. Now, he would read some few extracts from Judge Jay's book, published in New York, in 1839. He would call Mr. Stevenson's attention to page 88 of that book, and that would prove to him not only that slave-breeding existed in Virginia, but within twenty-five miles of his own residence. (The Hon. Gentleman read several extracts proving the practice: also several advertisements of lots of slaves wanted for ready money, for shipment to New Orleans, and one dated in Richmond, the very place of Mr. Stevenson's residence.) He had established against the Ambassador that slave-raising did exist in Virginia—yet all these things took place in a civilized country—a civilized age—advertisements of human flesh for sale, and written in even a more contemptuous manner than if the subject of them were cattle. The traffic in slaves from the North to the Southern States was immense. In the latter they were put to the culture of cotton—a horrible culture, that swept off the whole in seven years—every seven years there was a new generation wanted. This was in a community calling themselves civilized—why, they were worse than the savage beast of the desert—they only mangled when driven to it by hunger; but this horrible practice is carried on by well-fed Americans for paltry pecuniary profit—for that low and base consideration they destroy annually their tens and twenty thousands. His Learned Friend the Judge had put two attested cases in his hands—(Mr. O'Connell then read the particulars, in one the slave and her mistress were communicants in one congregation, yet the latter determined, and notwithstanding the most heart-rending appeals, persisted in selling and separating the child of the slave from its mother. The other was a slave who, with her eight children were brought into the open market, and sold separately, amidst the loudest lamentations.) The mother there had to suffer eight deaths, and when she was parted from the last, her youngest, her senses fled, and she was happy for a time. These scenes took place in a country which, in all other respects, had a fair claim to be called civilized—in a country which had nobly worked out its own freedom—in a country where the men were brave and the women beautiful. Amongst the descendants of Englishmen—even amongst such was to be found a horrible population whose thirst for gold could only be gratified at the expense of such scenes of human suffering. A population that were insensible to the wrath of God, who were insensible to the cries and screams of mothers and children torn from each other for ever; but there was one thing they would not be insensible to—they dare not, they would not be insensible to the contempt of Europe.—(Loud cheers.) While they embraced the American abolitionists as friends and brothers—let none of the slave-owners, dealers in human flesh, dare to set a foot upon our free soil.—(Cheering.) Let them call upon the Government to protest to America that they would not receive any slave-holding Ambassador.—(Loud cheering.) Let them declare that no slave-owner can be admitted into European society, and then Calhoun and Clay, and men like them, who stand up putting forth their claims to be President of the great Republic must yield to public, universal opinion. He had made mention of two men—he would only say that Calhoun was branded with the blood issuing from the stripes of the slave, and Clay, drowned in the tears of the mothers and the children. (cheers.) Let the people of Europe say to slave-owners, "Murderers, you belong not to us,—away to the desert and herd with kindred red savages."—(cheers.) He begged pardon of the savages.—(Laughter.) Sometimes in anger he committed heinous crimes, but he was incapable of cooly calculating how long or how hard he could work a human being with a profit,—sometimes granting him a boon for the purpose of obtaining a year or two's more labour out of him. The Hon. Gentleman continued,—I admire the purity of the democratic principle, when it is kept within the proper bounds of society. I am a great admirer of your Declaration of Independence; it is the delight of even the slaveholders of America. Let me read to you the first few lines. It says, All are created equal. These are their own words,—"All are created equal, with certain inalienable rights,—the gift of God." They acknowledge the Giver; and amongst these inalienable rights are, "Life, liberty, and the safe pursuit of happiness." Therefore they proclaim it, they admit that God has given those rights, and how dare the ruffians attempt to take away the rights which God has given?—(cheers and laughter.) Is that word too harsh? (No, no!)—"And in the fair spirit of the declaration, with a reliance on the firm protection of Divine Providence."—They appeal to God; and has not this all the sanctity without the profanity of an oath?—"we mutually pledge to each other our hearts, our fortunes"—they might easily pledge that—"our lives and our sacred honours."—(Hear.) Now I appeal to that honour—they have pledged their lives and their sacred honour to those principles, and when they come to me and say that I am a vituperator and a slanderer, I read to them their declaration, their pledge, and their honours.—(Loud cheers.) Well, are we to remain passive as hitherto?—(Loud cries of "No, no!") Let our declaration also go abroad. Let this Society adopt it—let the benevolence and good sense of Englishmen make that declaration. If an American addresses you, find out at once if he be a slaveholder.—(Hear, hear.) He may have business with you, and the less you do with him the better—(A laugh)—but the moment that is over turn from him as if he had the cholera or the plague—(cheers)—for there is a moral cholera and a political plague upon him,—(cheers.) He belongs not to your country or your clime—he is not within the pale of civilization or Christianity.—(cheers.) Let us rally for the liberty of the human race—(Applause)—no matter in what country or in what clime he was found, he is entitled to our protection; no matter of what caste, of what creed, or what colour, he is your fellow man—he is suffering injustice, and British generosity, which has done so much already, ought to be cheered to the task by the recollection of that success it has already attained.—(cheers.)—You have already heard from the Right Hon. Dr. Lushington something of the early struggles of the venerated Clarkson,—and how precious was the tear that rolled down his cheek when he made that statement—we have read that the recording angel dropped a tear on an oath which had been extorted in the cause of humanity, and blotted it out for ever—and the tear that stood upon his cheek seemed to have been called forth by similar feelings.—(Cries of "Hear, hear.") He reminded us that Clarkson had at first stood alone—that Wilberforce had but few to assist him, and that when Lushington and Buxton came into the contest, there were only enough to be laughed at by the selfish, and the Americans, but no more; they had neither pistols nor cavalry, nor serried infantry—they had nothing to contend against the congregated power of British mistaken avarice, and the immense wealth of the planter class. Yes, they had the generous, the humane, the noble spirit of the British people—they had the protection of God, and, blessed be God, we have lived to see the accomplishment of much that they had anticipated.—(Loud cheers.) What is our strength now to what it was when Buxton and others came into the contest?—(Hear, hear.) We have had 500 Delegates from various parts of the world. They have come from America and from France—we have foreigners, and judges, and distinguished men of all descriptions. From 400 places under the British dominion, Delegates have been sent to our Convention. Our meetings have been attended by audiences whose countenance alone would more than satisfy the utmost measure of fame or approbation. They are surrounding us still. Oh! the women of England are here—(Loud and continued cheers)—as they always are, foremost in the cause which humanity recommends to them. They will appeal on its behalf to their fathers, their brothers, and their sons. I am zealous in the cause to be sure, but inefficient—acknowledging the humility of the individual, I am still swelled by the greatness of the cause. My bosom expands, and I glory in the domestic struggle for freedom which gave me a title to stand among you, and use that title in the best way I can to proclaim humanity to man, and the abolition of slavery all over the world. The Hon. and Learned Member sat down amid loud cheering.

Mr. W. Allen had been requested to support the resolution, but the manner in which it had been moved and seconded made it unnecessary for him to say more than a few words.

Shortly afterwards Mr. O'Connell left the soom amid loud cheering.

Mr. W. D. Crewdson said, while the Hon. and learned gentleman, who had just left the room, was speaking, a letter had beed presented from a friend to the cause, who had worked earnestly and diligently for them—he meant Lord Brougham. (Loud and general cheering.) He regretted that the letter had not been received at the opening of the proceedings. Mr. C. then read the letter as follows:

"*Grafton street, June 23, 1840.*

"Sir,—I am extremely sorry that the state of my health renders my attendance at the meeting of which you have given me notice, quite impossible. I need hardly assure you that no one who attends it can feel a deeper interest in its objects, or more heartily desire their successful attainment.

I beg of you to present my humble duty to his royal highness. the Chairman, and explain the reason why I cannot do myself the honor of attending his royal highness upon this occasion.

I am, sir, your obedient and humble servant,

To J. H. Tredgold, Esq. Secretary to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society."

(signed) BROUGHAM.

Mr. C. L. Remond, of the United States, a man of color, then came forward, and said he would offer no other apology for his appearance there than the simple fact that for the first time in his life he stood upon the soil which a slave had but to tread to become free; (Loud cheers.) that for the first time he now breathed the atmosphere that an American slave had but to breathe and his shackles fell. (Cheering.) He rose more particularly to corroborate the statements made by the Hon. and eloquent gentleman who had lately addressed that large, intelligent, and highly respectable auditory, and he regretted that he had taken occasion to leave the room before he [Mr. Remond] had borne his testimony in favor of the great benefit which his language and sentiments and influence had had in America. (Great applause.) Perhaps the citizens of London were not aware that the English people had it in their power to emancipate every bondman in that country, and nothing other than that belief could possibly have induced him to leave a beloved family, and cross the water in view of the sacrifices and sufferings which it was necessary to undergo in order to do so. (Hear, hear.) He thanked God, however, that it had been allowed him to stand there and utter his condemnation of that system which was carried on in America, of enslaving their fellow-men—of that system which they had been given to understand was a system of lust and cruelty and blood—of that system which shut out the colored man in America from heaven, and drove him headlong to perdition. (Great cheering.) That system withheld from him the privileges which the American Constitution and the Declaration of Independence guaranteed. (Cheers.) The very descendants of some of those men who assisted in securing that independence were, at the present day, driven into the fields; and it was a fact that the knapsacks had been taken off the backs of some of the soldiers, and the musket had been taken from their arms—that the lash had been applied, and the hoe had been put into their hands, and they had been driven into the fields as slaves, after all they had suffered and sacrificed to secure that independence. (Loud and vehement cheering.) The hand of the clock reminded him that he must be brief. (Cries of "Go on.") He wished, in addition to what he had already stated, to say that it was not only the bondman in the United States that was enslaved, there was not upon the soil a free man of color, as he understood the term. (Cheers.) The humble individual now before them was not able to trace any of his ancestors in slavery, but if he happened to go into the District of Columbia, within sight of the flag under which their independence had been secured, he was liable to be seized and bound, and thrown into prison. For having committed crime? No. For being an Infidel? No. For being a convict? No. Why, then, was he liable to such outrage and indignity? For no other reason than this—that African blood flowed in his veins. (Loud cries of hear, hear.) This system did not make the inquiry, whether the man of color was destitute of character or not! That was not the question, but the complexion; or, in other words, their blood identified them with the system, in consequence of which the colored man could not stand erect and breathe the pure air of heaven. (Great applause.) If it should be his lot to be imprisoned in the District of Columbia, which had been erected by the taxes which his fathers had paid, and the officers of which had been supported by the same taxes, and after having remained there two or three months, if they were not able to prove that he was a slave, and that he was allowed the poor privilege of going forth free, with perhaps a strike or two, a kick or two, or perhaps a few cuffs, to whom could he look for redress of the wrongs and grievances he had endured? Their national code of laws recognized no redress for crimes so high and so infamous.—(Loud cheers.) Did their friends in that metropolis know, that from the commencement of the establishment of liberty in this country, slavery had existed therein.

In the very hour when the *Mayflower* was making her way through the ocean, bearing on her deck the pilgrim fathers, that were to establish liberty, civil and religious, at the same time there was another bark going to Virginia, bearing on her deck a different cargo of some fifteen or sixteen victims, who had been torn from their homes and from every thing dear to them in Africa, and placed on the soil of Virginia, and from that day to the present they had been obliged to suffer, and die the hewers of wood and drawers of water. He wished to ask if these things were the fruits of civilization and Christianity, what sort of a system had been introduced among the heathens and barbarians of different parts of the globe?—(Hear, hear.) He hoped before the meeting left that house, that a declaration would go forth similar to that which had been called for by the honorable and learned gentleman. He hoped that their condemnation would attach to the inconsistency of the Americans. One of the chief causes that led to the last war between his own beloved but guilty country, and Great Britain, was the simple fact of the imprisonment of a few white Americans; that reason was equally good with the resistance which had been offered to a tax of 2d. or 3d. a pound upon tea, and in consequence of which their revolutionary fathers had waded through blood to secure their independence. But it was against the inconsistency of his countrymen in these respects that he warred. The instrument of their independence made no reference to the coloured man, it gave him no protection, but it protected the privileged class, the slaveocracy. He would take leave to remind the meeting of the sentiments of John Adams, the father of John Quincy Adams, who was said to be the author of that document; he advocated political and religious liberty, and he denounced slavery as offensive in the sight of God, as derogatory to the honour, and interests, and happiness of man, and as opposed to the decrees which had been promulgated from heaven of liberty, of peace and good will towards man.—(Loud and general cheering.) He entertained not the slightest wish to stand there and traduce his country, but he was anxious to have the truth, and the whole truth in Christ, made known, and to express his abhorrence of the system which was driving to misery and death thousands every year; for as had been well remarked, it was a system of legalized murder, and he trusted that the voice of every friend of this country would go forth for the abolition of that most iniquitous system. He would conclude in the words of one of the poets of his own country:—

Go back, haughty Southern; thy treasures of gold
Are dim with the blood of the hearts thou hast sold.
The sky of the south may be brighter than ours,
And greener thy landscapes, and fairer thy flowers;
But dearer the blast which round our mountains raves,
Than the sweet summer zephyrs which breathe over slaves.

Full low, at thy bidding, thy negroes may kneel,
With the iron of bondage on spirit and heel;
But know that the Yankee girl sooner would be
In fetters with them than in freedom with thee.

Mr. Remond concluded amidst loud and general cheering.

For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

Fruits of Norfolk Resolutions!! Mass. Pastoral Letters! and New Organization!

Mr. Editor:—Cause and effect were never more demonstrable than in the origin, and progress of the difficulties and divisions in the Anti-Slavery ranks, and which have interrupted our heretofore prosperous goings. Nothing appears to me more clear, and of which we have more indubitable evidence in a continuous chain of influences and facts, from the "Norfolk Resolutions," "Mass. Pastoral Letter," the Clerical Appeal, the "New Evangelical Organization," "Mass. Abolition Society," "Political and Foreign Organizations," to the present time, than that Abolitionists have been thrown into their divisions and present embarrassed state, by the combined efforts of the clergy. The pro-slavery and Anti-Slavery clergy, acting and re-acting upon each other, and thus entering a division wedge into our ranks.

As a body, instead of "renouncing the hidden things of dishonesty," and of bearing their united testimony, and lifting up their voices trumpet like against the crying sin of American slavery, and the vices so rife in our land, *they do seem* to be "walking in craftiness, handling the word of God deceitfully," to sustain *slaveholding*, and their own unenviable position, in opposition to the Anti-Slavery enterprize, and to all those who run counter to their *ipse dixit*, in almost every moral reform.

Clerical associations, (*which by the way are voluntary societies, and their utility very doubtful*) appear to me from their masonic like influences, as they do to the venerable Dr. Emmons, to be "*instead of a union in truth*, an actual combination in error;" or in the language of Dr. Woods of Andover, "all the variance, contention and party zeal which has existed in the Christian world has arisen from the feelings and conduct of the ministers of the Gospel;" again Rev. Samuel Whelpley says, "none have done more to obstruct the progress of truth, than clergymen."

These views, together with those of other distinguished clergymen regarding the position, and influences of the clergy, in moral reforms and the "*progress of truth*," taken in connection with the conduct of ecclesiastical bodies, and their attitude in relation to the great and glorious Anti-Slavery enterprise—ought at least to open the eyes of every christian philanthropist, and lead him to throw off "*every yoke*" and snare, and learn his duty from the "*truth as it is in Jesus*:" especially the above remarks apply to all, who call themselves Abolitionists, and have had their minds *alienated* and "new organized" from their brethren, by a *clerical and sectarian alarm* and their unholy *ruse*. No class of men, not excepting the slaveholders at the South, have exhibited a greater amount of opposition and degree of hostility toward the Abolitionists, or a more fierce and persevering determination to thwart their efforts, for the overthrow of the "*vilest system that ever saw the sun, American slavery*," and to destroy Anti-Slavery organizations, than the great body of the clergy.

The most serious obstacles which the Anti-Slavery reform has had to cope with, have arisen from the clergy. They have stationed themselves directly in the pathway of Abolitionists, and stedfastly persisted against even lifting a finger to "*undo the heavy burdens*" of the suffering dying slave, and have stoutly resisted those who as christians and philanthropists, have felt it to be their duty to do it. Hence we have the real issue made up in the Anti-Slavery cause. The study and consultations, instead of aiming to overthrow slavery, the curse and blight of our land and the church, as they ought to have been; have been, how they might best, tumble down the troublesome and vexing Anti-Slavery societies.

"*Divide and conquer!*" has been their motto and united effort, and partial success!

To effect so inglorious a design, they had but to issue their famous "Norfolk Resolutions," and "Mass. Pastoral Letter," and to abandon voluntary associations and make an attack upon them, as having passed their rubicon, to bring forth, as if by some *magic influence*—or "sorcery," "*which could not be resisted*," an almost spontaneous, at least instantaneous, and hearty *response*, from five *Clerical Abolitionists*, the famous "*Clerical Appeal!*" and afterwards, an *abortive effort*, from Dea. Gulliver and the five *Clerical Appelants*, to get up a new organization to be "*exclusively orthodox*."—Here is the *punctum salieus*, the origin of the disease called "New Organization!" "The leaven of hypocrisy! (*as the Rev. Charles Fitch, the leader of the disunion has since confessed*,) of which let all beware! From these disaffected clergymen, the *new organization miasma* spread, disordering and disorganizing, wherever its influences were felt!

Those clergymen who had become Abolitionists and had run well with us for a time, seemed to be peculiarly predisposed to the influencies of new organization contagion: some particularly, A. A. Phelps, who had stoutly and manfully resisted it, finally from fear, or threats of the brotherhood! or of becoming the "minion of Garrison," or of being unpopular, or for some cause turned a somerset. The venerable Dr. Emmons before referred too, perhaps will best illustrate their influences, which then existed and still continue their sad effects. He says "*there is now, a firmer and more extensive union among the clergymen of the United States than among our civil rulers. This ministerial union has become national, and has assumed a power sufficient to crush any individual pastor or church, that refuses to submit to its arbitrary authority. Our religious societies are now in the hands of the united clergy. You may call these notions visionary, but I fear you will realize the sa ttruth of them.*" Fearfully have the Anti-Slavery Societies experienced the fulfilment of Dr. Emmons, declarations, and forebodings, respecting the clerical "*lust for power and domination*."

To draw off the clergy from the old Anti-Slavery organizations, and as many with them as possible, their ruse, has been to make appeals to their *pride, prejudice*, and sectarianism.

To hold up *Garrison!* in as odious a light as wholesale slander, and malicious falsehood, could render him!" and charge all with being "his minions," and with being responsible for *all his peculiar views*, who were associated with him in his glorious and philanthropic enterprize. To make the noble Anti-Slavery women, the butt of ridicule, to be Fanny Wrights and Jemima Wilkinsons, who with hearts bleeding for the poor slave, dared to solicit names to petitions, for a redress of their almost insufferable wrongs, as dared "*open their mouths for the dumb!*" With such *false* tools they have toiled to undermine and distract us; while they have pharisaically professed to be "as much opposed to slavery as any man;" "But"—"but could not adopt our measures," and would not offer any better! They in fact could not.

Their issue has been palpably a false one, to the most cursory observer, inasmuch as they have even neglected to *pray* for the slave, and refused to enforce our principles, which they generally have admitted to be righteous, in their public ministrations.

And while they have excused themselves from uniting with Anti-Slavery societies an account of "*their measures!*" how many of them have flocked into the *new organized excresence* Mass. Abolition Society, which was brought into being, independent of "*Garrison*," and "*all extraneous topics*," for their special benefit and behoof. Why have they not given up and united with that organization en masse? Because their *issue was a false one*. Their own hearts did not feel for the poor slave! if they did, they would have plead his cause without being importuned by an Anti-Slavery society, they would have done it in obedience to the plain and solemn commands of God. They would have been constrained by the love of Christ. No: and then their churches full of slaveholders, apologists and negro haters' rendered it inexpedient to disturb its stagnation and "*peace!*"

Bushnell like, "they were opposed to slavery," while they would admit slaveholders into their pulpits and to their communion tables, without so much as administering a rebuke: and then unite with the churches in bolting and barring the doors of their pulpits, sanctuaries, and even their hearts against Abolitionists and the voice of bleeding humanity. It matters but very little what professions men make, or what resolutions they adopt, either individually or collectively so long as they continually violate them. We ask the *proof* that they are Anti-Slavery, we ask for the living illustration.

The "pastoral letter" men, "*anti-Garrison*," anti-measures," have been thrown upon their real issue, since their "*clerical appeal*" *brethren*, have *organized* a society for their special relief on the *ostensible issue*, the "woman question," "non-resistance, &c.

Being however *duped* and *decoyed* by their *anti-Abolition brethren*, their false cry, "wolf," "Garrison," "infidelity," "women," "perfection," and having thus far succeeded in their ignoble purpose, to "*divide and conquer*" the Abolitionists, they then ruthlessly left them to shift for themselves! Here shame and confusion stared them in the face, for having attempted to betray our cause into the hands of our enemies. Their issue must be changed, and a desperate effort made to save themselves. Hence we are led to the interpretation of the strange letter of the Rev. Elizur Wright, Jr. to *Henry B. Stanton* at the meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society in Cleveland. That the Mass. Abolition Society had been very *badly managed*, they had tried to make too much "*of the confounded woman question*," (a prelude to the song of *all new organizers* to think,) and now the *life* or *death* of their society depended upon the *organization* of *national* our *human rights* political organization: contrary to all of our past professions and resolutions; their cry now was, that nothing could be effected for the overthrow of slavery, until Abolitionists would harness themselves into a *political organization!* and now for the *issue*—"*All who would not go to the polls and declare it to be the duty of all men to exercise the right of suffrage, were recreant to their principles, and the interests of the slave, were no government men, and ought to withdraw from the society.*" (See Mr. Birney's letter, and Holley's Res. at Arcade.) Here the whole sole charge of being non-resistance against the Mass. Anti-Slavery society originated.

Hence another ruse: political conventions were called, and H. B. Stanton busily employed (by the American Society, for from that society he received his pay,) in writing the editors of papers to commit them, and in going railroad speed from Dan to Beersheba, to put their new expedients into operation: hence St. Clair, A. A. Phelps and David Root's efforts in New Hampshire and Connecticut, to diffuse their seeds of dissension. And now we behold their strange children, *twin sisters!!*—the *political* and foreign societies! and their births *heralded* by all the pro-slavery clergy and editors of religious and political papers in the free States, and in the Southern States! An ominous fact. "Garrisonism!" "extraneous subjects hitched on," "opposition to evangelical Christianity, as organized and exhibited among us," (*i. e*, Congregational and negro-hating churches,) "an effort to ride over these churches and ministers, rough-shod," is now the hue and cry of the new organizers; and all who think, and speak, and act independently, or in the fear of God, are *brow-beaten!* and charged with "*Garrisonism*," and "*as having drank a dose of horror against slavery from the Liberator!*" Thus they expect to bring over to new organization, all who dare not *think and act for themselves!* It matters not how scriptural a doctrine be now-a-days; if it is unpalatable, it is declared "harsh," and to be "Garrisenism!" If the man Garrison is so very bad himself, his name is now inseparably associated with every moral question! and all who engage in them heart and hand, will surely be charged with "Garrisonism."

The "woman question," and "non-resistance," is not the *true issue*. The men who are now opposing their speaking in Anti-Slavery meetings, agreeably to our Constitution, are the ones who *first* encouraged and urged them to enter into the field and speak and labor for the slave, even in promiscuous meetings. They are, many of them, men who likewise, in opposing women speaking, oppose their religious principles. Rev Charles W. Dennison, a Baptist minister at New-York, after making a groaning speech against women, and declaring he could not act with them in Anti-Slavery meetings, afterwards called upon them, saying, "Now let us see if the women can't vote on our side of the question." Where were the consciences of these men who opposed women, when they were encouraging the Mott's, the Grimke's and Child's, to speak in promiscuous audiences?

In Connecticut, where it has been *claimed* that it was necessary to *gag the women*, to *conciliate and bring in the clergy!* Since the famous woman gagging meeting at New Haven, the *real issue* and *fruits of new organization*, have been developed astonishingly. The clergy now decline uniting with the Society on account of the unsoundness of our principles. They do not believe all "*slaveholding to be invariably sinful*." Even H. G. Ludlow, a Vice President of the Connecticut Anti-Slavery Society, has shown himself unsound in doctrine: and notwithstanding his continual boast, of having been scarred with rotten eggs for his abolitionism! he need entertain no further fears, since his pro-slavery speech at New Haven, at our Annual Meeting:

"Brother M'Gill, of Georgia, is a slaveholder—his father made him a slaveholder; he holds his slaves for their good! he is the noblest piece of humanity I ever saw!—and if he ever comes to New Haven again, he shall preach in my pulpit if he will, although last year, when he was here, I would not admit him." (A clerical somerset!) Would not every slaveholder in the United States have cheered such a speech? The New-York Observer hails it as an indication of "*a returning to reason!*" i. e. to the support of slavery! Rev. A. Granger, of Middletown, in the Connecticut Observer of May 30, says, "*Now go forward, holding fast to the sinfulness of slaveholding under all circumstances where it is done from choice!*" A slaveholding-slavery! Quack Abolitionists, only, will furnish such opiates for slaveholding consciences! Dr. Nelson tried to think he kept his "very stupid slave," *not from choice*, "but for his good!" But when he let conscience do its perfect work, he found that he liked *his unrequited* toil, and to have him do his *drudgery*. And where is the author of "slaveholding a *malum in se*," about these times, that he should admit such a doctrine into his paper without note or comment? He is new organized! opening his paper to *false* statements, and shutting out the other side of the question. Rev. Mr. Sprague of Hartford, at the Hartford County Anti-Slavery meeting at New Britain, on the 24th ultimo, said the ministers had not united with Anti-Slavery Societies on account of their principles; the ministers did not believe *slaveholding* to be *invariably sinful*, any more than the necessary violation of the Sabbath was sinful. And if the Connecticut Anti-Slavery Society would alter its Constitution, so as to have it simply declare, in general, *slavery to be sinful*, instead of being invariably sinful in all circumstances, he thought the ministers then would unite with us. Several clergymen present sustained Mr. Sprague in his remarks. Having succeeded in dividing the Anti-Slavery ranks, they would now divest us of our living principle, suck our vitals, and leave our organizations dead carcasses, beside of Colonization! American Union! to become a "proverb," a "hissing and byword." To effect so unholy a purpose the brotherhood have only to give the watchword, and the *clerical appellants* appear in our midst, giving a hearty response. If they can sustain their position, "that *all slaveholding is not sinful*," then their former declarations, that, "they were as much opposed to slavery as any man," would be true.

Then Mr. Ludlow's resolutions introduced at the Middlesex County Anti-Slavery meeting, which were advocated by five clergymen, "That the clergy, as a body, and laity of this State are sound in their Anti-Slavery principles," would be true also, or his Resolution, introduced and defended in the Hartford Co. Anti-Slavery meeting at New Britain. "That, notwithstanding the too general apathy which prevails among the ministers and churches of this State, in reference to the evils and extermination of Slavery, we do cherish the confidence that, as a body, the ministers and churches of this State, are not pro-slavery, but Anti-Slavery in their principles." After being advocated by Mr. Ludlow, the Abolitionists being unprepared to swallow such a resolution, laid it on the table, when one of similar import was introduced and advocated by A. M. Collins, and sustained by several Clergymen: to wit—"Res. "That we hail with joy the recent act of the General Association of Conn., recognizing the *sinfulness of slavery*, (not in all circumstances,) and of immediate emancipation as its proper remedy, and regard it as evidence that the ministers co-operate with us, or if not with us, in appropriate measures of their own for its termination."

The mover of this resolution is Chairman of the Executive Committee of Conn. Anti-Slavery Society; Dea of Horam Bushnell's Church, where a slaveholder from Ga. was invited to administer the sacrament, which he did, without getting a single rebuke within the past year.

The resolution, after a lengthy discussion, was divided, and all after the words "proper remedy" laid on the table, and the other part adopted. The Clergy now begin to feel that an impression has been made on the public mind against American Slavery which cannot be eradicated, and in view of the tremendous influences now combining in this country and Europe, for the overthrow of this soul-murdering system, it behooves them to get out of their unenviable position. But instead of doing this honorably and honestly like the Rev. Charles Fitch, confess their error, and bid us God speed, and thereby regain the confidence of the people.

They resort to another expedient: first, to prove our principles to be unsound, and the charge against them as being pro-slavery, and slaveholding apologists to have been unfounded, the result only of *phrenzied brains and hatred to ministers!* Messrs. Ludlow, Granger, Parker and others led off in this farce at New-Haven, declaring "the ministers of this State and Churches to be sound and efficient in their Anti-Slavery principles and action." The same farce was acted at Middletown, at a County meeting, in which five clergyman defended the ministers and Churches. The same at New Britain, where an uncommon number of Clergy attended, defending their *position as sound*, and that they co-operated with us in efficient measures for the overthrow of Slavery. Mr. Ludlow declared that they were sound to the back bone in Anti-Slavery principles, and there was not a minister in New Haven County who did not go the whole length in Anti-Slavery principles, (like his own,) they were opposed to our measures and ultraisms. Leonard Bacon poured his Anti-Slavery *hot shot* upon his people. They do not meet with us because of some *hangers-on to our Cause*, which we will shake off in a few days. The ministers are about calling a *private* Convention to discuss the subject.—*They are* sound to the back bone, and I am willing to cast in my lot with them for the present." Rev. Mr. Griggs of North Haven, was called on to testify, and said he believed that many of his brethren were opposed to Slavery, he had not felt at liberty to unite with the Abolitionists on account of their measures. He preached one sermon a year on the subject, and introduced it into the Monthly Concert, and if his brethren did not do the same, it probably was owing to the peculiar feelings of their people. What feelings, if "the Churches are sound!" Mr. Galpin, an old staunch veteran in the Abolition cause, said, "the minister in Worthington, had attended one Anti-Slavery lecture"! Francis Hawley, a Baptist Clergyman, whose vision has been somewhat obscured by New-Organization influence, but is getting it brightened again, said, "the body of the ministers professed to be Abolitionits, but do nothing for the cause, now and then, one attended Anti-Slavery meetings, but were cold and indifferent spectators: he was willing that their works should testify for them." Mr. Ludlow replied, "they shoot their guns well, (truly, against Abolitionists,) and if they did not attend Anti-Slavery meetings, it did not prove they were hypocrites." Mr. Tyler said, "he believed that as many of the Clergy were Abolitionists as would be found in other professions, as Physicians and Lawyers." What an apology for the ministers of Christ! not to be boasted of. For who does not understand that Physicians, Lawyers and even many, very many Ministers, are unwilling to do any thing (but to "*mind their own business*,") for moral reforms; that they are the last men to become martyrs to any righteous cause for fear of losing their "*bread and butter*."

Mr. Sprague said the ministers had done what they deemed to be their duty. they were Anti-Slavery in their principles, but could not unite with Anti-Slavery Societies on account of their denunciatory course and their *isms*, which had been connected with our cause; but the meetings at New-York and New Haven having disconnected themselves from those subjects, the ministers felt more favorably disposed towards these societies: *if they will* let them come in on their own terms—believing that *man* may chattel in his brother man; and not violate the laws of love.

Thus, entering the wedge of division they would divide still further, divest us of our vitality, and have our whole cause betrayed into their care and keeping. Like the Philistines, they envy Abolitionists their great moral strength and fear their weapons; and are now attempting to lay their hands upon our *locks*, put out our vision, bind us with cords, and consign us to their prison-house—for *sport and derision!* The real issue they have made up. "Slaveholding is not invariably sinful;" and "the churches and clergy are sound in Anti-Slavery principles!"

Hence Abolition principles are unsound; their measures harsh, and language denunciatory!—and their efforts now are, "to ride rough-shod over the clergy." Here we are, then: the Slaveholding M'Gills, and Dr. Ely, do not sin in holding men, women and children, as their goods and chattels—"they are noble pieces of humanity." This being true, Abolitionists! doff your hats, bend your knees, and crave pardon! immolate your principles! Let the noble, humane slaveholders and their clerical apologists come in! Yea, the Birneys, Nelsons and Brisbanes, who have been crying, "God speed your efforts." We owe our conversion to the efforts of the Abolitionists—have probably become fanatical, and ought to have continued their slaves in bondage, "for their good." Brethren, be not deceived! these are perilous, critical times for our holy and glorious enterprise. The efforts now making to lower our standard is but the *same effort*, continued from the Norfolk resolutions and pastoral letter, down through *clerical appellants* and new organizations, to the present moment. Brethren, go wash in the pool of Truth, and get your eyes open, and be not overcome with such "sorceries." If we permit our principles to be mangled and our standard to be lowered, the "staff of accomplishment" will pass from our hands, and God will raise up deliverers for the poor slave from another source.

Let every Abolitionist, then, stand firm for God and their countrymen in bonds, and God will make them an instrument for good and rejoicing to their captive brethren.

Yours, unflinchingly, for the slave.

ERASMUS D. HUDSON.

Hartford, July 10th, 1840.

Letter from Wendell Phillips.

London, June, 1840.

Dear Johnson:—The World's Convention has ended—or rather there has been no World's Convention, properly so called. We have sat ten days, and had, by the kind hospitality of the English friends many opportunities of meeting, besides the daily sessions of the Convention. The cordiality and kindness of the friends here has been unbounded. We shall all be ever grateful for the opportunity they have given us of meeting, under such favorable circumstances, with many whose names have been long familiar and dear to us.

The meetings here have many points to distinguish them from the same assemblies at home. For instance, all the morning papers report our proceedings, and there exists no prejudice against being called an Abolitionist: on the contrary, men seem to struggle for the honor of being known as such. Among the spectators, we had Lady Byron, (who, by the by, took her seat one day by the side of our friend Remond, and entered quite familiarly into conversation with him,) Mrs. Jamieson, Mrs. Opie, Elizabeth Fry, the Countess of Brunswick, &c. Then among our members and speakers, O'Connell spoke almost every day—Bowring, Campbell, Lushington, Buxton, Sir Eardley Wilmot, Isambert, one of the French Deputies, &c., &c. Brougham excused himself from attending on account of illness. At the public meeting, (anniversary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,) in Exeter Hall, which followed the Convention, I noticed at least one colored man mingled in with the audience; and just behind an English Duchess, not six feet from our Royal Chairman, the Duke of Sussex, crowded in among members of Parliament, &c., sat two colored men: yet there were, I do assure you, no symptoms of a *mob*. Indeed, though Remond stepped from just behind O'Connell, and followed him in a most beautiful and happy speech—much applauded—the audience received it with Christian meekness—not having the fears of a Philadelphia public before their eyes. So much for the colorphobia.

The Convention has taken some steps calculated to tell on the American public. Their resolutions, urging it as a duty incumbent on chuches not to hold fellowship with slaveholders, will, I trust, secure the deep attention of every American Christian—especially as we had many of the best known and most influential clergy of England among our members. They were drawn by a committee on which was J. Angell James; spoken to by J. Burnet, a leader of the Dissenters, and most of the clergy present, and assented to even by Dr. Cox.

The opportunity we had of full communion with the English friends has enabled us to point out the ways in which they may be most useful to the cause in America, by religious and literary influence. We have declared independence, you know, of Queens and Parliaments; but every Abolitionist must rejoice that we are still vassals to the genius of the mother country—that the power rests with her Religion and Literature to draw round the conscience of the slaveholder, like the Roman Herald of old, a magic circle, and say, 'thence thou shalt not pass till the spell be broken by the shout of emancipated man." All this we have urged upon them, and they are pledged to use this mighty weapon in our aid. Their Reviews, which float where an Anti-Slavery tract would be scouted, will come, I trust, bearing healing on their wings.

And now for the other side of the picture.

You will recollect, that the friends were requested to assemble here a few days previous to the opening of the Convention, for the purpose of consultation, &c. Many did so from Ireland and Scotland, as well as the United States, and were surprised to find they received no intimation of any wish for their presence at the meetings of the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Though they met us constantly at the tea parties held in the Anti-Slavery Rooms, and were known to be arranging the details of the Convention, still no advice was asked of any one not a member of the committee. The first order issued was for us to deposit our credentials with their Secretary and receive tickets, without which no one would be admitted into the hall. We did so, thinking it a mere form, and that, of course, the Convention would raise a committee of its own body to inspect credentials and make out a roll. But, it chanced that there were women's names on the Massachusetts list—to them a ticket of membership was refused. A deputation of the committee waited on us to let us know the determination of that body, which I copy:

"A letter having been read, addressed to the Secretary, dated Boston, 24th of April, signed by Francis Jackson, President, and W. L. Garrison, Corresponding Secretary of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, stating that several ladies have been appointed as delegates to the approaching Convention, it was unanimously

Resolved, That the committee, in the original summons of the Convention, did not contemplate, collectively or individually, the admission of ladies.

That at a subsequent period, in the letter of the 15th of February, extensively circulated on both sides of the Atlantic, the invitation is addressed to gentlemen exclusively.

That the subject having been brought seriously and deliberately before this committee on the 15th of May, it was unanimously determined that ladies were inadmissible as delegates, and it is now again resolved, without a single dissentient voice, that this opinion be confirmed and respectfully communicated to the parties in question.

W. D. CREWDSON, *Chairman*."

We told them we could not submit to their determination—that we had come to a Convention which would, of course, settle the qualifications of its own members. They assured us we had mistaken the nature of the meeting. It might have been called, "by a poetical license, a World's Convention," but was in fact only a conference with the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and, as such, they should settle who were to be admitted as members.

We replied, it would be our duty to bring that question before the Convention. (By 'we' and 'us' I mean the Massachusetts and Pennsylvania delegation. Of the New-York friends, some stood aloof—more joined with the committee and argued their cause most stoutly.) It was confessed by more than one that letters had been received from America on this point; and they, with other things, were the occasion, no doubt, of those explanatory papers sent to the United States, in which it was insinuated rather than expressed, that membership would be limited to gentlemen. Prof. Adam and myself waited on the committee, stating our surprise that all having been requested to come early, no one had been invited to sit with the committee, and protesting against their assumption of power to settle the terms of membership. They heard us very kindly about fifteen minutes. We were then, on the motion of J. Sturge, politely requested to retire and leave them to deliberate on what we had said.

In this state of things the Convention met—amid earnest requests to us on all sides to avoid outraging English feeling and bringing division into so noble a body. Reverend Divines thought it duty to intercede with us personally, and eminent Abolitionists painted in glowing colors the ruin which impended:—all persisted in giving an exclusively *English* character to the meeting, and interpreting the terms of their invitation by English usages; while we allowed this would be right had we come to an *English* meeting—but wholly refused to have a *World's* Convention measured by an English yardstick.

The Convention opened. Clarkson took the chair, led in by two gentlemen. The feeble old man seemed hardly able to bear the scene. But his mind was clear as when he paused by the way-side and took that resolve which has revolutionized a world. He addressed us most appropriately. The holy and chastened feeling, the expression of deep seriousness, which pervaded the audience during his presence, gave it more the aspect of an abolition gathering with us; for I think there is more clapping and excitement—more notice of distinguished men—more similarity common meetings for political and other purposes, and less of devoted seriousness here, than in the Anti-Slavery assemblies with us.

Had we known then, however, what afterwards came to our knowledge in regard to Clarkson's speech, there had been no feeling in the meeting but the deepest indignation. We have it on his own authority, that after his arrival in London at sunset until 11 P. M., he was waited on by three successive deputations from the London Committee to see the speech which, from fear of excitement from the scene, he had thought prudent to have in writing—and finding that near one-third of it related to India, they urged and urged him, till the old man was persuaded to omit it—a proof, this urgency of theirs, of what no member of this Convention will need any evidence, of the hostility which lurks in the London Committee against, I will not say the British India scheme, but at least against its being fairly and fully submitted to the Convention. Yes, the question, which, next to the moral means, brings with it the brightest ray of hope to the slave, was kept sedulously back, and carefully excluded from the place and space which its importance demanded. And this conduct in regard to Thomas Clarkson—this reducing the meeting to pupilage—how deeply insulting, how degrading to the body which had assembled at their call!

After Clarkson left the Chair, the honor was conceded to me by the friends, of moving for a committee on the roll. My motion was so worded as to present the right of the Convention to make up its own roll, and also requiring them to receive all *persons* delegated. Professor Adam seconded the motion. We received unexpected support and powerful aid from Bowring and Mr. Ashurst; but, after a stormy debate of several hours, during which we were urged by almost every speaker to withdraw the motion, the vote was taken and carried by nine-tenths against us. Stanton voted with us, though he took no part in the debate. All the members of the British India Committee voted with us, among whom were our staunch and kind friends, the Peases. Some of the speakers denied the right of the Convention to meddle with the question who should be members! others insisted on the exclusion of the women. The amendment which was passed instead of our original motion, settled only that women should not be members. Yet, while by the very fact of passing such a vote, the Convention impliedly admitted their own right to make up their roll, they never resumed the subject, nor decided the point, but tacitly accepted the roll made for them by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

This was the first great error, if I may use so slight a word: refusing to allow Massachusetts to say by whom she should be represented, and sitting down a mere Conference, under the shadow of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. This last may seem a mere form, but from it, as Lord Clarendon says, 'many and tall branches of mischief did grow.' Some of us took it into deliberation whether we had a right to remain in such a body, none doubting that had its character been previously known, we never should have been sent to such an one. But, seeing it right to enter, in order to bear our testimony, not knowing but that we might make it what it ought to be, and successfully assert the right of *all* delegates to their seats, we came to the conclusion that it was best, under all the circumstances, to remain.

One little circumstance I will mention, further to illustrate what I consider a prominent fault of the meeting—its timidity. Bradburn was alluding to the manner in which British abolitionists deserted their principles, on onr side the Atlantic, when, much, I confess to my surprise, (for not personally knowing them, I had not dreamed they could be members of the Convention,) up started Doctors, Hoby and Cox, and demanded to be heard—and up sprung many others deprecating personalities. My first feeling was that I could not be exactly in the right place, finding them on the same platform. Dr. Cox indeed made a frank avowal of a change of opinion, when the church resolutions were under discussion,—stating that he went with them, thought slavery a sin in all cases, &c. Hoby, I suppose, stands about where he did; and the meeting which deprecated discussions for fear of division among such brethren as he, was not the World's Convention which Massachusetts, at least, anticipated.

A day or two after, Garrison, Rogers, and the rest arrived. They refused to enter the Convention, and were permitted almost unnoticed to occupy seats in the gallery, though to be sure the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti Slavery Society did by letter, (in my opinion wholly without authority—what had they to do with our members after the Convention had assembled?) request them to sit with us. They saw it, however, to be their duty to decline. As Mr. Garrison's credentials from the American Society had with them two resolutions expressive of that society's views and feelings in regard to the Convention, I placed them before the Business Committee, desiring to have them read. They refused, alleging that they were technically credentials, and as such, should be submitted to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. This I denied; but, to avoid the difficulty, I offered to omit the resolution appointing delegates, and read only the other two. They thought this could not properly be done. I then stated my determination to offer them to the meeting on my individual responsibility. In attempting to do so, (I will not go into detail of circumstances,) I was stopped by what others as well as myself thought an *unparliamentary* construction of the rules of order,—but, at any rate, a most partial and unequal one, when others were permitted to speak on subjects not before the meeting, and entirely out of technical order, again and again, without interruption. There were several cases in which we thought the rules of order were somewhat construed by the subject expected to be brought forward, and at least they were more strictly enforced on some subjects than others.

The last day of the Convention, Professor Adam, (who, if any one here deserves more praise than another, has stood foremost in a steady, fearless, and clear-sighted course from the first,) Bradburn, Miller, Mott, Lester, Winslow and myself, offered a protest against the London Committee assuming to organize the Convention—against the Con

vention's excluding the women—and against the partial manner in which the rules of order had been enforced.

After the Protest was read, we moved that it be part of the records: Whereupon, Colver moved, and John Scoble seconded, an amendment, 'that it be laid on the table,' which was finally carried by a good majority; thus putting a climax to assumption on one side, and undue submission on the other to the control of a self-constituted Committee, by setting an example, unprecedented, at least in the abolition annals, of refusing to receive a protest.

One circumstance I will add. The Anti-Slavery Reporter had called James Mott 'a member of the Society of Friends.' The next number, which contained the official roll and report of our meeting, had this note affixed to his name: 'Erroneously stated in a former number to be a member of the Society of Friends.' They had found out in the interim that he was a 'Hicksite'—and so this bantling of the British and Foreign Association became the organ of the Orthodox-Quaker antipathy, and was made to settle that 'Hicksites' were not Friends, though they were denied the right to decide who were members of their own body.

Indeed the meeting has been, in many respects, a failure. It was not conceived in the right spirit, nor carried out with proper freedom. It deserted, in the outset, the broad Anti-Slavery platform. It shrunk, at every step, from that fearlessness of decision, and disregard of men, when in the way of principles which had hitherto marked the cause. The friends here—with all respect I say it—have come heartily up to Anti-Slavery truth; but that, being somewhat popular, has not called them to stem the tide, to shock old prejudices, to disregard long-established customs, to care nothing for division, when it is only severing chaff from wheat. This has not been necessary for the last twenty years, and now they shrink from unflinching adherence to principles which run counter to received habits. They have little of that spirit which parson Taylor describes as 'hewing to the line, though the chips fly in our faces.' They are not ready for *unpopular* reform. They will now, I think, take sides in our disputes, which, when I was in London before, and now also, I have observed a hesitation in doing; and they will take sides, most of them, with the new organization. I except the Scottish and the Irish friends. However Erin may be oppressed, her sons carry fearless hearts and free tongues; and Scotland beats yet with all the zeal and true-heartedness, which we have all along given in our thoughts to the land of Clarkson and Wilberforce. As in old covenanting times, the fire which has gone out here in this generation, burns still among her hills.

Massachusetts, indeed, would have been surprised at the aspect of an Anti-Slavery meeting, which thundered its plaudits when O'Connell or Campbell entered or retired, but hushed down every allusion to *our* Clarkson, while he sat unnoticed in the gallery; and received with faint, cold cheers, every expression (and they were frequent,) which Americans poured out of gratitude to Thompson. And you will hardly believe me when I say, that Abolitionists could meet in Exeter Hall to hear of American slavery, and place on their list of speakers the names of Stanton and Birney, and forget that man sitting silent beside them, to whom it was owing that Birney and Stanton, as Abolitionists, had a being—indeed that there was any thing like American abolition at all. Garrison was not asked to speak in Exeter Hall. One who sat by me was reproved for calling for him. Do you want any other index of its abolitionism? I was almost startled to hear Stanton announced there as Secretary of the *American and Foreign* Anti-Slavery Society. We had been battling for a fortnight with the domineering, exclusive, narrow spirit of the *British and Foreign* Anti-Slavery Society, and in spite of myself, my mind could not but associate them together. Further thought only strengthens the resemblance.

How utterly outrageous the transfer of the Emancipator! For such an act men deserve to forfeit all the confidence of their Anti-Slavery brethren. Their conduct before I left might claim, perhaps with some, the doubtful merit of being equivocal: so that honest minds might differ in their judgment of it, though my own was clear; but the last utter breach of faith—mere swindling—using power where they knew they had no right—plainly outgoing the purpose for which they were appointed—deserves to bankrupt their character as Abolitionists. Had I been with you, though, I might see it to be only of a piece with all the rest. I am glad the cause is rid of such men; if we cannot go on without them, let us sink honorably together, with the right to say, as Francis did—"We have lost all but our honor."

In conclusion, remember us to all with you, whom we are with in heart. Circumstances, we think, make it our duty to remain on this side the water another winter. I assure you it is with deep regret we make up our minds to do so. You will believe us, when we say we had rather be with you, and enjoy the privilege of sharing your labors, relieving you and friend Collins of something of that burden—or trying to, at least—which you have borne up so nobly amid desertion and treachery. Yours, affectionately,

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

From the Liberator.

Letter from Mr. Garrison.

LONDON, July 3, 1840.

MY DEAR JOHNSON:—I had fully made up my mind to leave for home in the Government steamer Britannia, which sails from Liverpool for Boston to-morrow; and therefore have neglected preparing any letters for publication in the Liberator, respecting the Anti-Slavery Convention in this city, which was dissolved some days since. But the importunities of the Anti-Slavery friends, in various quarters, for me to remain, are of such a nature, that, at the eleventh hour, I have come to the conclusion to remain in England until the 4th of August—making in the mean time, a tour to Scotland and Ireland. The mail is to be closed in less than an hour, and I can only say, that all the delegates from the United States are in good health, and, on the score of hospitality, have had no occasion to complain of their British friends. I have forwarded the London papers, containing pretty full reports of nearly all the proceeeings of the Convention, which will furnish you with matter enough to occupy the columns of the Liberator until my return. In publishing the discussions and speeches, I wish you to give precedence to what fell from the lips of the great and eloquent O'Connell—especially his scorching, blistering, burning speech, delivered in Exeter Hall. On our arrival, we found that the Convention had adopted a rule, excluding all female delegates from a seat in it, and thus refusing to let the voice of the American Anti-Slavery Society be heard in behalf of bleeding humanity, except by proxy! Could we do less—by our regard for consistency and justice, and as representatives of a society which makes no distinction among its members on account of complexion, condition or sex—than to refuse (I mean such of us as were *allowed* to become members) to connect ourselves with such a body? No—no. Accordingly, N. P. Rogers, Charles L. Remond, William Adams and myself, came severally, spontaneously and unanimously to the determination, not to place our names upon the list of delegates. Hence, we were mere spectators during the sittings of the Convention. All possible entreaties were made to induce us to alter our decision, but in vain. We felt that, by bearing such testimony, on such an occasion, and under such circumstances, we should do incomparably more for the slaves of our country, and for the whole human race, than by consenting to recognize the principle, that the delegates sent to a "World's Convention" by any Anti-Slavery Society might properly be excluded from the same, and that the Anti-Slavery platform is to be measured by the corrupt usages of the world. We could not consent to see any of those, who were associated with us to represent the American Society, thrust out of a meeting convened for the purpose of breaking the yokes and fetters of slavery, and ourselves permitted to enjoy rights and privileges at their expense. We felt that, in excluding any one of our delegation, the Convention excluded all—and hence the decision to which we came. How it will be viewed by those who sent us thither, I can scarcely entertain a doubt. I believe they will sustain us by their approving voices.

Wishing to be affectionately remembered to all the beloved friends at home, I remain, in much haste,

Yours for perfect freedom,
WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

Our friends Garrison, Remond and Rogers, expect to leave England on the 4th of next month, in Cunard's line to Boston via Halifax. They will probably arrive about the 20th.

So Far so Good.

From the Christian Witness.

A correspondent takes exception to our remarks in reference to Lucretia Mott, a few weeks since—especially to the paragraph in which we say she "ought to have more respect for her sex, if not for herself, than to consent to be made the tool of a disorganizer," &c. We cheerfully recall the expression, the more cheerfully that it expresses an idea we did not mean to convey, and which is in fact contradicted by another sentence in the same paragraph, in which we express our apprehension that her zeal for what she deems *principle* will impel her to measures which we felt would be injurious to the Anti-Slavery cause. In the expression objected to all that we meant was that Mr. Garrison, taking advantage of her well known adherence to what she believes right, had obtained her appointment as a delegate to the World's Convention, and was thus using her as an instrument to the accomplishment of his purposes—not that she was flexible, or easily bent to the will of any one.

The same friend thinks we have done injustice to N. P. Rogers, in charging him with misrepresenting the language of Arthur Tappan. Our friend remarks "I know on Rogers' own testimony (in conversation) and on that of another member of the committee that Tappan said substantially what is attributed to him." We have entire confidence in the veracity of our correspondent, and therefore fully retract our censure of Mr. Rogers, so far as this matter in relation to the language used by Mr. Tappan is concerned. We would not willingly do injustice to any person, and whenever convinced that we have done so, we consider it both duty and pleasure to make suitable reparation.

From the Colored American.

[FROM THE EDITOR.]

Boston, July 11th.

National Anti-Slavery Standard and New-York Convention.

The Standard which, by the way, is, in most respects, an excellent paper, and the criminating and recriminating spirit of which we have not seen so fully developed in it, as the article in this paper of the 4th instant, over the signature of "A." would seem to indicate, and which sentiment we do not fully endorse. The above paper of June 18th, contains an editorial article upon the Convention appointed by our people, the call for which having been published in this paper. This article is as dictatorial in its spirit, and as authoritative, as much so as the writer thereof feels himself doubtless the colored man's superior and adviser. The several points objectionable have been commented upon by "A." much to our satisfaction, yet we feel unwilling to let it pass without a notice, because this writer, and a few of our own people, and most of our friends, seem blind or determined not to see special necessities in our case which demand special labor, always best adapted to the case when made by ourselves.

The writer objects to the Convention on the ground that there ought not to be separate action on our part, we ought all to work together in the great cause of Anti-Slavery, whether that reaches the case or not, or in other words, if a man throws you into the ditch, you must not get out yourself, but wait till some one else comes along to take you out, or aid you to get out.

Grant that we all ought to work together for Anti-Slavery purposes, in the Anti-Slavery cause, and there is no need for separate Anti-Slavery Societies unless for special purposes, such as to enlighten the people, and interest them in the cause. But what is the Anti-Slavery cause? are its measures adapted to affect the moral improvement of our people? to raise them up from all those civil disabilities under which, in some states more than in others, they are laboring? Has the cause done this?—is it their object?—have they not another paramount object towards which they are driving, and towards which they ought still to drive away until that object is accomplished? and while this is going on, and the other important to be done is not, ought not those immediately concerned, and the sufferers in the case, to lend their energies and adopt measures towards the accomplishment of these?

Besides, every point gained for us by our own direct and special action will give us the greater weight of character, will wipe off in so much, the scandal, and bring us so much more into social life with all classes of community. It will be like the self-made man, whether in wealth or matters of State, or in literature; what will hold good in the one case will in the other.

I agree, and yet I disagree with "A." and with brother Van Renssalaer, whom I thank for his independency in coming out as he has, in their call for our friends to meet with us. I hope they will be present, but they must remember it is our Convention, and while we shall be gratified for their suggestions, they must be less prominent than ourselves, if not, such is the public disposition, they will regard the proceedings of the Convention as theirs, and not as ours.

The article in question looks as though it came from the pen of him, who said to one of our friends in New Brunswick, that the colored people ought not, or to that effect, to have a paper; the spirit of the one seems to be in accordance with the spirit of the other. People must remember that we have ears to hear, eyes to see, a capacity to judge, and a paper, as yet, through which to communicate. While we are upon this subject, we urge our people to be vigilant in appointing their delegates, and making the necessary arrangements to attend the Convention. We hope great good to us and to all may be the result.

From the Colored American.

MR. EDITOR.—I respectfully solicit the privilege of correcting an error in the editorial department of your paper of the 27th ult., over the signature of A. commenting on an article from the "Anti-Slavery Standard" headed "A Convention." The writer states that notwithstanding the American Moral Reform Society is not an exclusive association, yet "their annual meetings have been composed exclusively of colored persons." Now this has never been the case at a single meeting, though we have not the least doubt but that such an impression has gone forth to the public. We could mention the names of several early and distinguished abolitionists that have been members ever since its formation, and for the past three years there have always been white persons in the Board, and in 1837, the Rev. S. E. Cornish, and Joshua Leavitt, were delegates from the American Anti-Slavery Society. In the Moral Reform Society no complexional distinctions have ever been tolerated, and should it ever depart from those heaven born principles of man's equality, it ought at once with all associations throughout the world possessing a kindred spirit, to be ANNIHILATED. The great reason of its present *unpopularity* with the colored people is that it refused to receive a national baptism, in the pool of "American prejudice." Its present position is an illustrious example to the "American Churches." I heartily subscribe to the article from the "Standard" against a Convention composed exclusively of colored citizens.

Yours with respect,
WM. WHIPPER.

Columbia, June 29th, 1840.

For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

POUGHKEEPSIE, 7th mo. 4, 1840.

This is the great *white* American holyday! Festivity and debauchery are alike unrestrained! Liberty, in its full popular sense, is exercised by all who wish to use it. Law is, in a great measure, suspended, and public order disregarded. There seems to be a general ambition to do something extraordinary. Young and old, male and female, are equally possessed of it. There is a free scope for gratification, inasmuch as most of the common restraints of society are, by common consent, abolished for the time being. In a thousand different ways do people manifest their joy on the annual return of this day, which is distinguished above all others as one of national pride, commemorative of the birth of our Republic; and in all ways, among all classes of persons, with inconsiderable exception, *excess* is the prevailing feature. It appears to me that *licentiousness* is mistaken for *liberty*. Liberty is not understood, and we prove that it is not, by adopting the most suicidal modes of commemorating it. Could a people truly sensible of the nature and worth of liberty, be so weak as to protect by legislative enactments, systematic means for its destruction? Could they regard with indifference that perpetual waste of the vitality of freedom which is now going on over the whole extent of our country? No; they could not. We do not understand the first principles of true liberty. We are grossly ignorant of the true economy of social life. How, then, can we expect to perpetuate even that measure of civil order and freedom that we now possess? As surely we shall fail to do so, by our present system, as we should fail in an attempt to preserve the form of a physical structure in the absence of the principle of cohesion.

This is to be a rare day for Poughkeepsie. A great *party* celebration is on foot. The Whigs and the Democrats have resolved not to amalgamate in their rejoicings. Thus party spirit triumphs over common interests; portentous augury to our country's prosperity! Preston, Wise, and Crittenden, are here from the slavery-cursed South, to magnify Liberty and to promote the political interests of General Harrison. It is computed that several thousand strangers have come in from various parts of the country to share in the joviality of the occasion. A piece of woods called "The Grove," about a mile from the town, has been selected for the accommodation of the Whigs.

* * * * * *

I have heard the celebrated orators of Carolina and Virginia. Preston is a vigorous and agreeable speaker. He is a man of uncommon powers as a popular declaimer; introduces splendid figures, and strong illustrations, is brilliant and choice in language, though not free from a liberal admixture of vulgarity. It was he who, a year or two since, in the Senate of the United States, called God to witness, that if an Abolitionist should be caught in Carolina, he should be *hung*, in despite of interference from any quarter. But he said nothing about abolition on this occasion. The chance of General Harrison for the Presidency is not to be hazarded by the loss of a single vote, which might possibly result from an identification in the least degree of Whig politics with pro-slavery tactics. His audience was composed in part of a class of men who, if they were not technical Abolitionists, were yet lovers of universal freeedom, and they would have completely disgusted by a promulgation of Southern doctrines in regard to slavery. It was policy, therefore, to leave that subject untouched. I will mention an illustration, however, that he drew from practical life to exemplify the servility of the "minions" of the present administration. He has a store of epithets for his political opponents, and makes liberal use of them. As to "*minion*," he will be one himself, if General Harrison be elected. He described the manner in which the administration press at Washington recalled to their duty, the office-holders who, through ignorance, strayed from their allegiance, or relaxed their energies for a moment, and said that they returned to their posts, "like the fugitive slave who comes back to his master with his wrists crossed, to receive again the manacles of slavery, and his back bent to the infliction of the lash!" How natural was it that he should draw this illustration of degraded servility from the scenes which surround him in daily life? He regards it as indicative of the last degree of baseness and insensibility to freedom, and yet, at the same moment that he utters his abhorrence of it, he is himself one of the most guilty (because the most favored in point of talent and intelligence,) administrators of the curse of a more aggravated slavery over millions of his fellow-creatures!

Wise is an energetic speaker but not by any means so easy and graceful as Preston. Of course he prated violently about liberty, and fretted himself into a mighty passion against those whom he charges with the most wicked designs to destroy it, viz. his political opponents. What heartless slang is all this? If we believe what public men say of each other, and surely we must believe both parties, if either, *all* are aiming to usurp power, to play the tyrant, to blast liberty and to establish in its stead, irresponsible and hereditary despotism! And if we believe what these noble scions of Southern chivalry say of *themselves*, they are the very life guard of freedom, and but for them

"False glory, thirst of blood, and lust of rapine,
(Fateful conjunction of malignant planets,)
Shall shoot their blastments on the land."

The conservative power of our government resides in the body of the people, and not in politicians, and the measure of liberty and happiness that we possess is yet ours, in despite of the corruptions of public life. I am unable to see that these slaveholding politicians are better friends of liberty than the office-holders, whom they brand as its worst foes. The latter, surely, in their official capacity, are but as caterpillars which fatten upon the leaves of vegetation, while the former are as the worm which gnaweth at the root. These deface the beauty, and destroy the proportions of the superstructure; while those undermine and sack its very foundations.

I did not hear all that either Preston or Wise said. My patriotism was not sturdy enough to hold out to the end. A friend, who was attracted there by curiosity, informed me that Wise *did* speak of Abolition, but not as he was wont to. He told the people that northern men might now come into Virginia and exercise perfect freedom of speech on all subjects, without the fear of being lynched! A glorious privilege, truly! Abolitionists, even, might avail themselves of it during the canvass for Harrison and Tyler!

However strong may be the prejudice that yet prevails in the northern states against Abolitionists, we are confident that a frequent repetition of the outrages which some of them have suffered at the hands of the South, would not quietly be overlooked. It is altogether too disgraceful that a northern man, holding conscientious opinions against slavery, if he go to the South at all, must go at the peril of his life. Southern statesmen feel this to be a stain upon their character. Preston dare not utter among the Highlands of New-York, what he did two years ago in the Senate of the United States. Wise is anxious that the skirts of Virginia should be cleansed from the imputation of a *lynching spirit.* Is there not some abatement on the part of these high spirited gentlemen? Is not the mad intolerance of slavery retreating before the advancing light and influence of northern abolition?

I am persuaded that a strong tide of Anti-Slavery feeling pervades all classes of society in the free states; but it is yet shackled by a thousand interests, and by groundless prejudices against those who plead publicly for the reform. Let us prosecute with untiring and renewed vigor, our appeals to the moral sense of the people. They will be heard ere long, by many who now turn scornfully away. But a few years will elapse before the youthful mind of the present day will be clothed with manhood, and we shall then see the effects of past labor; we shall see the maturity of the germ now planted.

A most interesting circumstance has just been related to me. Several months ago, about thirty girls, averaging near 12 years of age, were at play in the lot adjoining their school house. A black boy ran in among them from the street, told them he was a runaway slave, and begged to be concealed from his pursuers. They immediately placed him behind some boards, and resumed their sports. But a few moments elapsed before a man ran up and asked them if they had seen a black boy in the neighborhood. One of them answered, without hesitation, "Yes, we saw one running in that street," at the same time pointing in the direction which he had come before entering the yard. The man followed in pursuit, and the girls continued their play as though nothing had happened. They soon assembled in council, however, to devise means for the boy's safety, and agreed that at dinner time each one of their number should ask her parents for two cents, and bring also a supply of food in the afternoon. They enjoined secrecy on each other as to the object to which the money was to be applied, and agreed that rather than run any risk by exposing it, they would do without it and bring only the provisions. But they all succeeded in their application, and furnishing the frightened fugitive with the amount, and with as much food as he could carry, bade him continue his flight as soon as a good opportunity offered. They heard no more of him, and there is ground to hope that he succeeded in effecting his escape. Several months elapsed before any of the girls divulged the circumstances of the case, so fearful were they that exposure might throw obstacles in his way. Was not that a daring band of noble philanthropists? What a sweet offering to liberty? What a bright flash of Anti-Slavery genius? There was the pure, unadulterated spirit of humanity.

I have been told that the leading men of Poughkeepsie have made considerable effort to keep abolition out of the schools, but they cant succeed. The majority of the teachers in the principal schools of the place are Abolitionists, and some of them most uncompromising. Ah, this abolition spirit has a power of ubiquity that bids defiance to exorcism.

J. S. G.

For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

I request the Editor of the Emancipator to correct his mis-quotation of my language, by which he makes me to say, that the office of *Anti-Slavery* is "to resolve society into its original elements." I never expressed such a sentiment, nor do I entertain it. As an act of justice, I ask him to correct the error through the same medium by which it was promulgated.

I make the same request, also, of the Editor of the Christian Witness.

J. S. G.

The letter from Poughkeepsie, published this week, was unavoidably crowded out of our two last numbers, as was the case also with other matter, which we shall give our readers in due time.

Notice.

The first of August will be commemorated in this city on Saturday evening next, at the Aubury Meeting House in Elizabeth street. Addresses from several individuals.

After the services shall have been closed, measures will be taken to organize the Manhattan Anti-Slavery Society. All favorable to the platform of the American Anti-Slavery Society are invited to be present.

We are glad to hear from brother Augustus Wattles, of Ohio, and thank him kindly for his sympathy.

Office of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

All orders for publications, and all letters in relation to the business department of the Standard, should be addressed to ISAAC T. HOPPER, 143 Nassau-street. All communications for publication in the Standard should be superscribed to the "Editor of the National Anti-Slavery Standard," 143 Nassau-street, N. Y.

Subscribers to the Emancipator.

Those individuals who subscribed for the Emancipator, as the organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society for the current year, are informed that by making known to our Publishing Agent their preference for this, and their post office address, shall receive the Standard gratuitously for the time they have paid for the Emancipator.

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

THURSDAY, JULY 30, 1840.



The American Churches.

No portion of the doings of the London Convention is of more interest to this country than that in which reference is had to the condition of the churches in the United States in reference to the slavery question. They are, indeed, guilty in this matter. They have not been content with silence on the chief sin of the land, but have turned their influence directly against those who are laboring to expose the horrible enormities of the prison house. When the howling mob have rioted at noon-day, glutting their vengeance on abolitionists, the pulpit has been dumb. When state legislatures have threatened penal enactments for the exercise of free speech on the question of slavery, the pulpit has been dumb.

When Theological Seminaries have been disturbed on the question, and Professors have tortured the Scriptures to prove that the chattel principle was sanctioned of Almighty God, the pulpit has been dumb, or echoed the same Heaven-daring blasphemy. That there have been exceptions, we cheerfully acknowledge; but we speak of the great mass.

Voluntary associations have awakened this nation to the awful realities of its impending doom from the continuance of slavery. And now we are told from certain quarters that voluntary associations are great evils. That the churches should take care of the evils of slavery. The truth is, the Anti-Slavery cause has taken a deep hold on the affections and sympathies of the people. Independent thought, and independent action, is the result; and whether the churches will hear or forbear the doom of slavery, is written.

The people have taken up the subject: laymen preach, and the common people hear them gladly.

It is of importance that the corruptions of the church on this subject should be made manifest.

If, as is set forth in the letter from Dr. Hudson, in this week's paper, the clergy are, as a body, Anti-Slavery, it is plain that we must seek other influences for the overthrow of slavery, for they appear powerless in this wise.

☞ *Anti-Americanism.*—A member of Congress has given notice that at the next session of that body he will offer a resolution that a United States war vessel be presented to the Imaum of Muscat—*a black man.* One of the Imaum's vessels rescued a United States ship from a dangerous situation, near the Arabian coast, and arrived in this port on a visit, several months since. In consideration of the service, this vessel has been completely refitted and furnished at the expense of our government, and will sail for home in a few days. The crew, being Arabs, are colored men of course, and some of them are as black as any slaves that till our soil; and yet they have received marked public attention from our citizens;—for instance, an invitation from the Long Island Rail Road Company to take a ride, which they did. We have not heard of any intermarriages with the whites, however.

The letter of Wendell Phillips places the London Convention in a curious light before the world. It proves the justice of our remarks of last week. We shall wait patiently for the official report of its proceedings, when we shall be better able to judge of it, in all its length, breadth and depth.

☞ *One proof of General Harrison's abolitionism!!*—His popularity in Louisiana. Would the slave-ridden people of that Texian neighborhood vote for an Abolitionist? Say, Blanchard.

Martin Van Buren.

So entirely is he identified with the slaveholding policy, so completely has he written his condemnation in characters that are not to be misunderstood, that comparatively little exertion is made to warn Abolitionists against giving him their suffrages. There is no choice between Van Buren and Harrison.

To ask the question which is the least evil, is about as reasonable as it would be to ask which is the most becoming "Gloster at his devotions" or "the Devil chiding sin?"

☞ Our columns are open to Judge Jay for any communication he may feel disposed to make relative to his late extraordinary letter, published in the Emancipator.

The doings of the London Convention will undoubtedly sufficiently interest our readers to render an apology for occupying our columns with them to the exclusion of other matter, unnecessary.

Read Charles Lenox Remond's speech at Exeter Hall. It is a specimen of eloquence that would honor the first class of orators.

He did not speak in the Convention because he would not join while they excluded women from their seats. This was a noble testimony on his part to principle, as it was on the part of Garrison, Rogers, and Adams—but more of this anon.

Gray's Chemistry.

Elements of Chemistry, containing the principles of the Science, both experimental and theoretical. Intended as a text-book for academies, high schools, and colleges. By ALONZO GRAY, A. M., *Teacher of Chemistry and Natural History in the Teacher's Seminary, Andover Mass.* Andover: Gould, Newman, and Saxton, 1840.

We are much pleased with this book, for several reasons; but principally because it unites the simplicity necessary to those just commencing the study, with the thorough development of the science; and because the author has given more attention to the great *principles*, than to the *details* of the science. Such a book we think, was very much needed. It is equally removed from the abstruse treatises adopted by colleges, on the one hand, and the ephemeral abridgements, which *abridge* until the student has but little to do, but go over a *bridge* without troubling the science, on the other. It is a compilation, as it professes to be, and not an abridgement. We hope it will find an easy and speedy access to our seminaries.

We continue from the first page the proceedings of the London Convention, and shall endeavour to publish the whole in our paper.

Several articles in type were crowded out last week which we are obliged to make room for this week.

Sittings of Saturday, June 13.

The Convention met on Saturday morning, according to adjournment, at the Freemason's Hall, at 10 o'clock.

Mr. Joseph Sturge, of Birmingham, in the chair.

The Chairman said that, before commencing the business of the day, he was anxious to offer to the meeting a few observations on some of the occurrences of yesterday, which might have appeared at the time a little irregular. Their excellent friend, Thomas Clarkson, had been anxious to escape from all unnecessary excitement. He was glad to say that their venerable friend had not suffered in consequence of his exertions; he had seen him last night, and he was glad to say that he was even better then than he had been in the morning, and he hoped they would see him amongst them for a short time to-day.—(cheers.) The desire of the committee to spare their venerable friend all causes of excitement had induced them to make arrangements that he should be moved, seconded, and voted into the chair before he entered the room. He (Mr. S.) was in ignorance of the fact that this had not been done when he accompanied his venerable friend into the room yesterday; but he scarcely thought it necessary to put the question, as no doubt could exist that their venerable friend would be voted into the chair by acclamation. He hoped the meeting would excuse the irregularity which had in consequence been occasioned; but his object had been, in putting himself forward as he had done, to save the time of the meeting, and the feelings of their venerable friend from agitation. One or two of their friends who had been elected as office-bearers had only arrived the preceding evening, and were scarcely cognizant of their rules. This, also, might have occasioned some little irregularity in their proceedings of yesterday, which he hoped would not again recur. In order to avoid any irregularity, however, it was necessary that they should act in strict accordance with the rules which they had laid down for the regulation of their proceedings, as in that manner only could they save time, of which they all well knew the value. He hoped they would now go on in a spirit of love, unanimity, and Christian charity; and he was rejoiced to see those dear friends who, on the question which had occupied their time during the latter part of the preceding session, were then present, prepared to cooperate with them in the spirit of sincerity and cordiality. (cheers.)

The following gentlemen were then introduced as delegates from France:—M. D'Isambert, the Secretary to the French Anti-Slavery Society, and a member of the Chamber of Deputies, in whose honour medals had been struck by the colored inhabitants of the French Colonies; and M. Louisa, also a distinguished member of the French Society. They were received with loud applause.

The Chairman then said, he hoped he should not be violating the conscientious scruples of any one if he requested that they might be allowed to sit a minute or two in silence before the business of the meeting commenced.

It was shortly afterwards announced that it was the intention of those who wished to join in devotion before the commencement of the meeting, to meet in the adjoining room for that purpose, at half past nine.

The minutes of the proceedings of yesterday were then read by the Secretary; and, after a few observations from Mr. J. C. Fuller, and one or two other members of the Convention, confirmed.

The Secretary then read the programme of the day's proceedings.

At the conclusion of the programme,

Mr. O'Connell entered the room, and was received with loud cheers.

Before the business commenced,

The Rev. B. Godwin, of Oxford, having been called upon by the Chairman, proceeded to read a paper on the essential sinfulness of slavery, and its direct opposition to the spirit and precepts of Christianity.

It was here announced that the Venerable Clarkson had arrived, and he forthwith took the chair, it having been previously arranged that all expression of applause should be desisted from, to avoid flurrying him by any noise or excitement.

The Rev. C. Stovel felt anxious that something practical should be devised on that religious view of the subject to which the essay just read was directed. He had several resolutions which he wished referred, with the essay, to a committee, to be thrown into a practical form, as a recommendation to all Christain denominations to make slavery a matter of Church discipline—(Hear, hear)—otherwise never would the church assume on this subject its true position. Why should not the church apply its principles to the errors pervading society? If slavery were a curse, those cursed by it ought to be delivered from it, and no friends of the gospel could be relieved from their responsibility till they had taken the ground Christianity justified towards all implicated in the accursed thing. The outline of his statement was that the meeting regarded participators in slavery, and all legislature protectors of it, as acting directly contrary to the principles and spirit of Christianity, and therefore earnestly entreated all Christian churches through the world to consider whether incorrigible offenders of the following classes should not be excommunicated, viz:—those who voluntary brought men into slavery, [illegible] negroes; those who took part in laws keeping up slavery; those who knowingly give a pro-slavery character to religious bodies; those who voluntarily participated in the license given by slavery-protecting laws, either by wronging them in person, liberty, property, or life; those who refused slaves equal rights in the churches of God, or rejecting their evidence in any matter with no other reason than their color and calamity; those who possessed slaves without any merciful right to hold them; that the meeting regarded all kinds of injustice guilty before God, and as deserving of reprobation by Christian churches, when committed on a black as on a white man; and therefore entreated all their fellow-christians to recollect that God would hold them responsible for any protection of, allowance to, or connivance at slavery. (Hear.) This sketch he wished to be maturely considered in a sub-committee, to be by them, in a well-digested shape, brought before the Convention.

Several delegates expressed themselves of the opinion that the question would be more maturely considered after it had been digested by the Committee.

The Rev. J. Young said he could not agree to the principle of the resolutions. The Convention was composed of members of all religious parties—Church-of-England-men, Baptists, Independents, Presbyterians, Methodists, Catholics—(Hear, hear)—and ought not to participate in church discipline; for some of these denominations had no church discipline like that of others, as the Catholics. All that the Convention should do was to declare their strong disapprobation of slavery, and their sense of its sinfulness, leaving it to the particular denominations to take such measures as they thought fit. He moved, as an amendment, that the Essay be referred to the Committee, to frame resolutions upon it.

The Rev. E. Taylor, of Woodbridge, said, as a Protestant Dissenting minister, he never heard a set of resolutions of which he more cordially approved, than those of Mr. Stovel. (Hear, hear.) He trusted that by the integrity of their faith, as Christian men, they would pass them. They did not interfere with church discipline by recommending all Christian men to consider gravely, if any person supporting slavery should sit with them in Christian fellowship. (Hear.) He was seldom more grieved and astonished than when he heard a well-known Dissenting minister dissapprove of this which he held to be the soundest practical measure ever devised on the question. They came here to do. (Hear, hear.) He would so far abide by that as to cease speaking now—(A langh)—concluding by earnestly recommending the adoption of the resolutions.

Mr. O'Connell.—I really think we are agreed in principle. There is no difference between our friend Mr. Stovel and the majority of the meeting as to this: that nothing is more complicated in sinfulness than slavery; (Hear, hear.) that it is a violation of all private morality; that it is a robbery in its principle, and carries multiplied murder in its effects. (Hear, hear, hear.) There cannot be a Christian man among us who does not abhor it from the bottom of his heart. Now, for what purpose are we come here? Not to interfere with church discipline. (Hear, hear.) I would not presume to vote on any question touching the church discipline of any of the churches to which you belong—the Baptist or Independent for instance. Liberality does not consist in giving up what we believe ourselves, that is latitudinarianism. (Hear, hear, hear.) Liberalilty consists in giving to others what we claim for ourselves—free, independent judgment in religion. We are not called upon to interfere in church discipline by these resolutions. We are only asked to recommend. And will not any proposition have additional weight with any church, because it carries with it the sanction of this Convention? (Hear.) I am sure that in my church we should gladly have the aid which such a recommendation would afford us in carrying out measures against the accursed system of slavery which have already been suggested in the eloquent directions of the head of our church, and begun to be carried out by our clergy. (Hear, hear.)

Several delegates strongly advocated the resolutions, particularly.

The Rev. W. Knibb, missionary from Jamaica; where, he said he had found the immense advantage of carrying out the system laid down in these resolutions, of making slaveholding inconsistent with religious fellowship, and he believed that such a system truly carried out would soon be the death-blow of slavery.

Mr. Francillon, of Gloucester, also supported the resolutions. The churches did not excommunicate in former days, for probably that would have exceeded their powers; but there was an influence exerted by the clergy, and, one after one, the villains were emancipated, and slavery was abolished in these free lands. He understood that an important object of the Convention was to diffuse among themselves information of the most full and complete kind of the abominable nature of slavery, of the arguments against it, and the proper measures to be used for its overthrow. Now, a brother had made use of the phrase, "that the Church should deal harshly with all the sinners holding slaves, with the exception of those who held them in consequence of any reasonable necessity!" Now, as he believed that slavery was an abomination, and could not be recognized by any man who respected the will of God, or reverenced his word, then were not those words inconsistent with the notions of the vast multitude in the assembly? No Christian or good man could possibly recognize any merciful reason for one man retaining property in his fellow-creature. He asked the question with respect, but he must contend, that whatever resolution they might come to, slavery was a great crime, and ought to be overturned by every means in their power.

The Rev. Mr. Stovel.—One reason for using these words was to give the friends of slavery an opportunity of giving a good and a Christian reason for the abominable practice, if it was in their power. Another was, because he was informed, that in some cases where a slave was about to be restored to freedom, mercy to him would dictate that he should be manumitted in one state in preference to another, and he meant his words to apply to the transition-state.

Mr. Colver, of Boston.—The Reverend gentleman who moved the amendment, seemed to have a delicacy about him in respect to the question, in which he (Mr. Colver,) did not share. A short time ago, there was a disturbance in Canada, chiefly fomented by American citizens, who were fond of commotion and trouble, and were more inclined to meddle with other persons' affairs than to mind their own. Whenever they were chased by the British authorities, they ran and took shelter in the States; they would not stop, or the arms of the British would soon have punished them. Now England sent a minister to our government, and asked that they would prevent the marauders from sheltering on their territory, to which the American Government at once acceded; now, would any one say that this was an interference with the American Government by England? Of course it was not, and that is what we want; the moment we get the track of a slave-holder, and he takes refuge in the church of God, we want to say to the church, out with him to our arms, give him no refuge, withdraw your protection from him, for he is a sinner. Was that any undue interference with church discipline? He thought not, and cordially supported the original resolution.

The debate on this subject was continued—particulars of this session next week.

The principle subjects discussed after the first sittings were Saturday, June 13, recommending to all Christian denominations to make slavery a matter of church discipline.

The principle subjects discussed after the first day, the debates of which we have given entire, were Saturday 13; a recommendation to all Christian denominations to make slavery a matter of church discipline. A portion of the debates on this subject which are deeply interesting, we give above. Monday 15, American Slavery. Tuesday 16, French Slavery. Wednesday 17, Spanish Slavery. Thursday 18, Report on church discipline as connected with Slavery. Colored population of Upper Canada. Friday 19, Results of Emancipation. Report of Free Labor Committee. Saturday 20, India Slavery and Texas. Monday 22, Trade in Slaves from Africa to the Brazils. Internal slave trade of the U. S. Survivors of the Amistad. Tuesday 23, Dr. Bowring read the address to the French Nation.—An address to the crowned heads of Europe. Resolutions relating to Danish and Dutch Slavery, Spanish Slavery, Slavery in Ceylon. A future Convention. The protest of W. Phillips and others.

Names.

We request as a particular favor to us, that the name of our paper be written or quoted in full to prevent mistakes. Our correspondents will please make the name of our Society clear with the number of our office. Some of our papers and letters go to the Depository of the American and Foreign Society, and theirs come to us. We regret that the new organization in this city have not taken a name that would save themselves and us some trouble in this respect.

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Notice.

James Richardson, jr. will deliver an address on the first of August, in honor of Emancipation in the British West Indies, at Providence, R. I.

A Roman Catholic.—No man in this day is attracting greater attention, and exerting a greater influence on his generation, than Theobald Matthew, a Catholic Priest.—And since we find him so heartily engaged in one of the noblest enterprises of the world, and in which Christians of all names are united, we rejoice to learn from the "New-York Catholic Register," the most prominent paper of the papists in this country, that Father Matthew rejects the dogma of that church, that "out of its pale there is no salvation"!!! In an article which we should be glad to copy entire, taken from the Dublin Register, this remarkable statement is made, and we hail it as in indication that the truth is making its way into the minds of enlightened men even in the bosom of the papal church.

"We need hardly say he is a true and consistent Catholic; but, at the same time, he believes there is room in heaven for every good man to whatsoever sect he may belong."

From this endorsement of Father Matthew's views, it appears 1. That in the opinion of Catholics there are good men in other denominations, and 2. That these good men will be saved, and 3. That a man believe these things and be a true and consistent Catholic priest! Truly the day, dawns.

Spain.—The two Queens escorted by numerous troops, had arrived at Saragossa, after having run a risk of capture by a Carlist band under Palacios.

The news from this quarter is altogether vague and confused. Balmaseda is represented as surrounded by superior forces, and rendered incapable of doing further mischief. Cabrera is said to be posted four leagues from Pycerda, with from 7,000 to 8,000 men, where he was preparing to make a vigorous defence in case of being attacked.

The Augsburg Gazette represents the situation of the family of Don Carlos as critical. The Princess of Beira had been compelled to sell her jewels to raise the funds necessary for her support. Don Carlos had anew refused to accept the terms offered him by the French Government, and would, it was believed, be sent a prisoner to the Castle of Blaye.

Remains of Napoleon.

The whole world again rings with the name of Napoleon. The Emperor is about to make another triumphal entry into Paris. He whom kings conspired to banish to a barren rock because they feared him when among men, is about to return once more to the field of his former glory. His bones having been for years mouldering in the tomb, the magnanimous powers of Europe have been able to overcome their fears sufficiently to consent to his return.

The enthusiasm which this movement has awakened in France is indescribable. The announcement in the Chamber of Deputies by the Prime Minister, Thiers, was received with long and rapturous plaudits; the people are filled with as much exultation, as when Napoleon was conquering kingdoms and distributing crowns for keepsakes; the King himself, who was driven from his country by the Emperor, now sends one of his own sons to conduct the "precious remains" back to France. The return from St. Helena will be a more magnificent triumph than that from Elba; for in addition to the millions whose hearts will beat with sincere gratification, the very monarchs who then hated him, now join, formally at least, in the general enthusiasm attended upon the occasion.

NAPOLEON'S RELEASE.

Cold France with gratitude is arm'd;
The ashes of extinguished fires,
By some alchymic charm has warm'd,
The frigid sons of patriot sires.
Helena's rock, for twenty years,
Hath held Napoleon's lifeless clay;
A nation now awakes, in tears,
His dying wishes to obey.*

* 'Let me be buried upon the banks of the Seine, among the French people, whom I have loved so well.'

The East.—Letters from Constantinople of the 28th ult, given in the French and German papers, state that Lord Ponsonby had proposed to the Divan to march a corps of 20,000 men to the frontiers of Syria, and to co-operate in the meditated blockade of the coast of Egypt. The project was immediately opposed by the Russian Ambassador, on learning that Lord Ponsonby had suggested that the army he commanded by the Polish General Chrzanowski. The other members of the *corps diplomatique* concurred, the French Ambassador adding that he would rather see the Porte continue to rely on foreign meditation than march its army to certain destruction. It would appear that nevertheless Khosrew Pasha supported Lord Ponsonby's opinion, and thereby incurred the hostility of the French Ambassador, and was in conseuuence dismissed from office.

A year of pleasure passes like a fleeting breeze: but a moment of misfortune seems on age of pain.

Dulness is less disagreeable than pretension.

POETRY.

Lines to New England.

BY H. W. ELLSWORTH.

New England! New England!
How beautiful thy vales—
Where summer flowers are breathing forth
Their sweets to summer gales;
Where soft the wild note breaketh
From out each dewy grove,
When lone the night bird chanteth
Her even-lay of love.

Oh! far beyond the surges wild
That beat upon thy shore,
Hath swept the pæan of thy fame
Old Ocean's vastness o'er!
And echoes far the triumph song
Of that true-hearted band
Who gave their homes, their all, for God
And thee, my Father-land!

It peals amid the palaces
Of England's titled sons;
O'er soft Italia's quivering wires
Its magic music runs;
From lofty peak and lowly vale,
From islands of the sea,
In joyous notes come bursting forth
The Anthem of the Free!

Majestic are thy mountains,
Up-towering to the sky!
Stern monuments that Freedom's hand
For aye hath piled on high!
Forever may they guard thee
As now—the blest, the free—
Bright Eden-land of nations!
Proud home of Liberty!

And beautiful the silver streams
That ripple o'er thy breast,
In thousand forms meandering
To seek their ocean rest—
Ay, beautiful! and may they twine
Forever, bright as now,
A fadeless leaf of lustre round
Thy clear, unruffled brow!

We love them, for their legends tell
Of deeds and daring true—
How oft the hunter paddled there,
War-led, his dark canoe;
And oft beside the mossy banks,
'Mid scenes that linger yet,
The Indian maid—sweet Nature's child—
Her Indian lover met.

And these are gone!—but fairer forms
Still rove beneath thy skies,
Whose priceless worth and trusting love
Gleam forth from laughing eyes!
Thy daughters! like sweet flowers of Spring,
Bloom 'neath thy fostering care,
Through coming time, as now, to be
Thy treasures, rich and rare!

Thy sons! what clime that knoweth not
The noble and the brave!
The tamers of the stubborn earth
The rovers of the wave!—
Ay! dearly do they love the land
Their fathers died to gain;
Their pride its glory fresh to keep,
Its honor bright from stain!

New England! New England!
God's blessing on thee be,
And ever on those cherished ones
Fond memory links with thee!
From this fair land, whose spreading skies,
Like thine, a glory wear,
My spirit turns to breathe for thee
A blessing and a prayer!

A Birthday Reverie.

BY GEO. D. PRENTICE.

It will be over soon. Another year
Has parted—and its knell is tolling now
O'er the far ocean of the past.

It is
An hour for tears. There is a spectre-form
In Memory's voiceless chamber, pointing now
Its dim, cold finger to the beautiful
And holy visions that have passed away,
And left no shadow of their loveliness
On the dead waste of life. The spectre lifts
The coffin-lid of dear, remembered love,
And bending mournfully above the pale
Sweet forms that slumber there, scatters dead flowers
O'er what has gone for ever.

I am not
As in the years of boyhood. They were hours
Of joyousness that came like angel shapes
Upon my heart—but they are altered now,
And rise on Memory's view like statues pale
By a dim fount of tears. And there were springs
Upon whose streams the sweet young blossom leaned
To list the gust of music—but their depths
Are turned to dust. There too were holy lights,
That shone, sweet rainbows of the spirit, o'er
The skies of new existence, but their gleams,
Like the lost Pleiad of the olden time,
Have fallen from their zenith, and are lost
'Mid the cold mockeries of Earth!

Alone—
I am alone! The guardians of my young
And sinless years have gone and left me here
A solitary wanderer. Their low tones
Of love oft swell upon the twilight winds,
Or wander sweetly down through mists and dew,
At midnight's still and melancholy hour;
But voice alone is there. Ages of thought
Come o'er me then—and with a spirit won
Back to its earlier years, I kneel again
At young life's broken shrine.

The thirst for power
Has been a fever to my spirit. Oft,
Even in my boyhood, I was wont to gaze
Upon the swollen cataract foaming on
With its eternal thunder-peal—the far
Expanse of Ocean, with its infinite
Of stormy waters roaring to the heavens—
The night-storm fiercely rending the great oaks
From their rock-pinnacles—the giant clouds
Shaking their plumes like warriors in the sky,
And waving their broad lightnings through the air
Like the red flash of swords—Aye! I was wont
To gaze on these, and almost weep to think
I could not match their strength! The same wild
Thirst for power is on me yet—it has been
A madness in my day-dreams, and a curse
Upon my being. It has led me on
To mingle in the strife of men, and dare
The Samiel breath of hate; and I am now,
E'en in the opening of my manhood's prime,
One whom the world loves not. Well, sweep on
O Time! The stream of Life is swelling on
To its fair fountain in the heavens—and there
The innumerable springs are swallowed up
In the great Ocean of Infinity!

They never fail who die in a great cause:
The block may soak their gore,
Their heads may sodden in the sun; their limbs be strung
to city gates
And castle walls. But still their spirit walks abroad;
Though years elapse, and others share as dark a doom,
It but augments the deep and weighty thought
Which overpowers all others, and conducts
The world at last to freedom. BYRON.

Daniel O'Connell's Speech at a meeting of the Aborigines Protection Society.

Mr. O'Connell, who, on rising to address the meeting was loudly cheered, proposed the next resolution which was to the effect that every possible means should be taken to encourage the education of the aborigines in our colonies, and especially that young natives should be brought over and educated in this country. The Hon. and Learned Gentleman then said, that if he required any apology for addressing himself to the meeting, he might perhaps find it in the simple fact that he appeared among them an Aborigine himself—(Hear, hear, and a laugh)—and he therefore felt a personal sympathy for the native inhabitants of every other country.—(Hear, hear.) A vast extent of misery and of guilt, of suffering, and of crime, and the horrible devastation of nations, had unfortunately been the consequences of the spread of colonization, and of the extensive occupation of countries heretofore uncivilized; and he did not exaggerate when he said that among the greatest crimes of mankind should be reckoned first and foremost the destruction of aboriginal inhabitants in lands visited by the steps of cizilized man. He was not at all exaggerating when he said that no other human event led to evils so multitudinous—(Hear.) Let them cast their eyes for a moment on the map of the globe, and they would find the history of those countries which Europeans had colonised in latter centuries was marked by the traces of their guilt and oppression. (Hear.) They need not go as an exemplification of that to the East indies, where the natives suffered all the evils of uncertainty of tenure with the certainty of fiscal injustice—of the ruin of their peace and of their commercial prosperity, and that slow and gradual process of oppression which had ground down vast multitudes and subjected them to the periodical recurrence of terrific famines and malignant disease.—(Hear,hear.) He need not, however, dwell on the case of the East Indies, because, another Society had taken up that subject, and it would be well he should leave it in the hands of that body. He would, therefore, come nearer home, and he would ask what had England done in New South Wales?—(Hear, hear.) He would tell them at once that she had annihilated the Aborigines there either by destructive violence or by the force of her institutions. They had already heard of Van Diemen's Land, and of the slaughter which daily took place of the natives there, either as an amusement or for the purposes of a horrible traffic. With regard to the case of New Zealand, he believed that if some protection were not given to the natives there, they would soon be counted among the people that were forgotten, and a new chapter would be added to the history of those crimes which had taken place under the rule of Great Britain. Let them go to the American Continent, and they would find that the first invasion of the Spaniards destroyed myriads of innocent, and peaceful, and kindly people, and the descendants of these inhabitants had been driven to work in the mines, and were so employed at the present day, where they never saw the daylight except when it might answer the purposes of their hard task-masters, and where they perished in the darkness of despair —(Hear.) But there was one subject on which the Spaniards were entitled to praise, which should not be denied them—they were the only people who had spared a portion of the native inhabitants, and the Indians among them had been allowed to retain titles of distinction, and to mix with the imported Spaniards themselves. But let them go farther North and let them begin with the British colonies in North America, and especially with Canada. They had already heard what had been the policy of Sir Francis Head, a man whom it would be ludicrous to name if he had not been placed in a situation which enabled him to do an incalculable quantity of mischief. He had invented a plan of civilizing the natives by driving them from their homes, and sending them from the forests, where they were accustomed to support themselves by hunting, to an island where there were no beasts to hunt.—(Hear, hear.)—The country was besides too barren to raise corn, and as they were unable to raise it, he laid down this political apothegm, that those men were unfit to be farmers while they were in an island where there was no farming.—(Hear, hear, and laughter.) That would be singularly ridiculous if it were not horrible. Those people, however, had been relieved from their degrading position by the rebellion in Canada; but if that rebellion had not taken place the calamities which they endured would probably have been continued. During the insurrection they had stood in the foremost ranks of the British troops. They were loyal and devoted to that Government which had oppressed them, and they had sealed with their blood their title at least to live in their own habitations.—(Long continued cheering.) Let them look to North America and they would find the friends of liberty there with the most outrageous proclamations of democratic principles, holding in the one hand the red cap and the flag of liberty, and in the other the lash which they applied to the back of the oppressed and insulted negro. (Hear, hear.) The Aboriginal inhabitants on the other hand were driven from valley to valley, from hill to hill, and from river-side to river-side; they were now sent to the wild plains of the Missouri, to be driven from thence again, as their invaders advanced, and to be soon perhaps, completely extirpated from the face of the earth.—(Hear, hear.) There was a particular State which he wished to refer to. It was the State of Texas, composed of marauders, who, on finding that the Spanish Government had abolished slavery, had been instigated by the United States to form a kind of banditti, who not only sanctioned the perpetuation of negro slavery, but established as one of the principles of their confederacy, the extermination of the native inhabitants, the Red Indians. He had thus drawn hastily a general outline of the history of their country, which had been stained by the guilt of slavery. He had stated that mass of human misery for the purpose of showing that the time had come for arousing British sympathy and British humanity, and in order to awaken from its slumbers that British benevolence in favor of those people who had no other hope of relief if England did not throw over them the shield of its protection.—(Cheers.)—Perhaps, even that could not save them, but it was the only resource to which they could turn. The very eloquent gentleman who had preceded him had told them of particular individuals who had exerted themselves in the cause in various countries.

But what could isolated individuals do? They might distinguish themselves as many honourable gentlemen then around him had done in Germany, Prussia, or France; but in order to effect any extensive good there should be a mighty movement of the national mind—there must be a grand exertion of national benevolence, and it was in England alone that a great body, animated with such purposes, could be found or framed. (Hear, hear.) Perhaps, however, the best means of awakening British sympathy would be to refrain from describing from country to country the mass of misery which he had detailed, and which from its magnitude almost ceased to make an impression, and to point out cases of individual suffering. When they talked of the destruction of thousands, the calamity was so vast that it could not be properly felt, but let him take the case of a single family—let him take the case of a husband and wife, comforted by the fruits of their industry, and living contented in the home of their ancestors, enjoying at least all the advantages which savage life could bestow. Let them, then, suppose the spoiler came among them, taking away one parent and then another, let the infants be joined in the scene of devastation, and he was sure there was not one among them who would not contemplate with pity such a scene.—(Hear, hear.) But the scene he had described was repeated beyond calculation, and continued to be repeated up to this present hour. Let no one ask him how individuals could put an end to those evils. Let no man put such a question, for he would reply with another—what was it which individual benevolence could not achieve when engaged in a great and glorious cause?—(Cheers.) Why, was it not known that by their exertions they had saved the Hill Coolies of India last night?—(Loud and continued cheering.) Casting aside the trammels of party, regardless of the fate of the Government, and actuated solely by a desire to prevent an increase of crime, and an accumulation of the evils which a revival of slavery would entail, he thanked God that, though powerless in talent, but ardent in zeal in a holy cause, he had with others secured last night the principle that no more Hill Coolies should be sacrificed to the Mammon of iniquity in the Mauritius—(Cheers.) But that was only one small result of the mighty movement which Clarkson had begun, which Wilberforce had carried on, and of which Buxton had lived to see the triumph. There had been 8,000 slaves at the Cape of Good Hope a few years ago, and thank God, they were there no longer now. The parent looked, six years ago, on his boy, not knowing the moment he might be torn from him, six years ago the mother wept that she had given birth to a child which to her alone could not be a source of joy; for she beheld her babe, and knew not whether it belonged to her or to a tyrant master. But, blessed be God! they had put an end to that, and these scenes were no more. (Cheers.) In the British dominions, at least, they were no more to be witnessed. But to whom was that owing? They had neither cavalry nor infantry to aid them—the tramp of battalions was unheard, but they had that which was stronger than legions—they were surrounded by men of benevolence and charity, and Englishwomen lent their aid.—(Cheers.) A mighty mass of slavery was thus brought to an end.—(Cries of "Hear, hear.") England had already sacrificed 20,000,000*l.* in the cause. And was he to be told that in a country which had made such a sacrifice, and which had achieved so much the sun of humanity had set—that the tide of charity had ceased to flow, and that any party could be more successful in a moral point of view than the tyrant Canute, who had bid the waves stand still? Would there be found a Canute who should tell the waters of British charity that they should cease to roll?—(Cheers.) He would not—he could not—believe it. All that was necessary was, that the facts of the case should be known, and British humanity would then rally and support the oppressed. What he wanted was that the British mind should be brought to consider the subject—what he wanted was that it should become the object of familiar conversation and of familiar thought. Was there anything more glorious than humanity? Was there anything more delightful? And he was not profane in asking if there were anything more likely to bring down a blessing from God?—(Hear, hear.) All that was necessary was that the cause which they advocated should be brought under public consideration again and again. That was the only chance of making an impression on the public mind. They might believe him, for he was an agitator of some standing. (A laugh.) They might believe him when he told them, if they felt a grievance, to proclaim it to-day and to-morrow, and he had almost used an Irish phrase, and said, on yesterday—(A laugh)—but they had already done. Let the drop of water flow till it wore away even the hardest rock.—(Hear, hear.) But let it be recollected that it was not on a rock they had to operate, but on the genial softness of the British heart.—(Hear, hear.) Let them rally in the cause. That was the smallest room he had yet seen in Exeter Hall, but he hoped that before another year the largest would not hold them. There was nothing unjust—nothing interested—in their undertaking. There was nothing to impel them but their own humanity. There was much to encourage them in their labours. There was no organised opposition against them; and the cause was one in which every one might join. Whatever practicable measures they might propose to the House of Commons would be sure to be adopted. But that would not be enough. They should, as the resolution recommended, provide, if possible, for the education of the children of the Aborigines in the different colonies. They should above all, endeavour to extend, without interfering in particular questions of religion, the truths of the Gospel—they should aid their missionaries of every sect in their efforts to spread the light of Christianity among those people, and civilization would follow in its footsteps; for if they were not twin brothers, Christianity brought with it civilization wherever it reached—(Cheers.) Let there be no contention therefore among particular sects, but let them look on each other as generous rivals. Let him tell them that among the order of the Jesuists—once so formidable a name in this country—had devoted their labours to the Indian Mission, and that no less than thirty of them had been put to death in Cochin-China and its vicinity within the last eighteen months. Let them bring in aid of their object that organization which had rendered the anti-slavery cause triumphant. Let them commence that mighty struggle which would give justice to the native inhabitants of our colonies—which would restore to the red man a right to his own home—which would give the dusky-coloured man a claim to live on his own land—which would impart to them the advantages of Christianity and civilization, and which, while it did them inestimable good, would bring down the blessing of Providence on those who were engaged in so holy a cause. (Loud cheers.)

Slavery as it affects the liberty of the privileged Class.

One of the chief branches of civil liberty consists in the unrestricted disposal of one's property. There are restrictions which are necessary; but the more these restrictions are multiplied, the more is liberty restrained.

By the institution of slavery, slaves become one of the principal kinds of property; but in the free disposal of this kind of property, the slave-master at the South is very much restricted. The "sacred rights of property," as to which he is apt to be so eloquent, with regard to that very subject-matter with respect to which he considers them most sacred, are closely restrained by laws of his own enacting.

To set a slave free, is certainly the highest act of ownership; the only one indeed which a truly virtuous man ought to exercise; and certainly the last one which a person of any manly spirit would be willing to surrender. But in the greater part of the Southern States, the master is deprived by law of the right of emancipation. Here certainly is a most grievous infringement upon liberty.

The right to improve one's property so as to increase its productiveness and give it an additional value, is an essential part of civil liberty. But this is a right of which, as respects his slaves, the southern master is in a great degree deprived. In most of the slave States it is a highly penal offence to teach a slave to read.—Now reading and writing are essential to many employments. These accomplishments, and others which by their means the slave might acquire, would greatly tend to enhance his value, by making him capable of more valuable services. But the master is not allowed to improve his property in this way. The law interferes to prevent it.

Considering slaves merely as property, here are two grievous infringements upon the master's liberty. But consider them as men, and the infringement upon the master's freedom of action is still more intolerable. I am deprived by law of the capacity to be benevolent and just. I am ready to confer upon a fellow-being the highest boon which man can give or receive; but the laws do not permit me to confer it. Perhaps the slave is my own child. No matter; he shall remain a slave to the day of his death, unless I can obtain as a particular grace and favor, a special permission to set him free. Is this liberty? Is not the servitude of the father as miserable almost as that of the son?

The authors of these laws have plainly perceived that the natural dictates of humanity are at war with the institution of slavery; and that if left to their own operation, sooner or later they would accomplish its overthrow. To perpetuate the slavery of the unprivileged class, they have fettered up those sentiments of the human heart, which are the foundation of morality and of all the charities of life. For the sake of brutalizing others, they have sought to barbarize themselves.

Liberty of opinion, liberty of speech, and liberty of the press do not exist in the southern states of the American Union, any more than under any other despotism. No doubt there are some subjects which may be very freely discussed there; but the same is the case under all despotisms. Anybody may freely discuss at Rome or Moscow, the merits and demerits of American slavery. The only prohibited subjects are the plans of government and systems of policy upheld by the pope or the czar. So at Charleston or Richmond one is at full liberty to discuss subjects having no obvious bearing upon the political system and social condition of Virginia or South Carolina. But approach *that* subject, lisp the word slavery; dare to insinuate that the existing system of southern society is not the best possible system; assail ever so cautiously the tyranny of the slave-masters; point out ever so temperately the inevitable wretchedness of the slaves, and you will soon be taught that despotism is as jealous, as watchful, and as fierce, in America as in Europe.

The discussion of this prohibited subject is not only visited by severe legal penalties, under pretence that it has a tendency to produce insurrections,—the same reason, by the way, which is given at Rome and Moscow,—but it is still more effectually suppressed by the terrors of Lynch law, a system of procedure, which in cases of this sort is either openly countenanced, or secretly abetted by the gravest jurists of the South.

Not only is discussion prevented, but it is dangerous to receive, to read, even to have in possession, any book, pamphlet or newspaper which has been enrolled in the *Index Expurgatorius* of the slaveholding Inquisition, or which, though not proscribed by name, appears to treat upon the evils of slavery and their remedies.

The United States Postoffice at Charleston was violently assailed by a mob, headed by the principal inhabitants of the city, and a large part of its contents publicly burnt, under pretence that among the newspapers and pamphlets contained in it, there were some of an *insurrectionary* character.

At Richmond, a bookseller received a box of books containing copies of a certain work compiled by a Virginia clergyman, to aid the Colonization Society. It was principally made up of extracts from speeches delivered in the Virginia House of Delegates, in favor of a project for the gradual abolition of slavery by shipping off the slaves to Africa, broached shortly after the Southampton insurrection. This book was denounced as *incendiary* by the Richmond Committee of Safety, and by their order all the copies were delivered up, and burnt in the public square.

In the District of Columbia an unlucky botanist happened to have among his papers used for the preservation of plants, some copies of a prohibited newspaper. He was arrested, almost torn in pieces by the mob, thrown into prison, where he lay upwards of six months, and it was with great difficulty that his acquittal was obtained.

It is a curious fact, that, at the very moment at which the *Richmond Whig* was assailing Louis Phillippe and his ministers, for their restrictions upon the French press, the *Journal des Debats* was defending those restrictions by the example of Virginia! It must be confessed that the French restrictions are perfect liberty, compared with the law and practice of the southern States.

The Secret Tribunal of Venice, which received anonymous accusations, and which proceeded to judgment without notice given to the culprit, has been always denounced as an institution the most hostile to liberty that can possibly be imagined. Tribunals very similar, and in many respects much more to be dreaded, exist throughout almost the whole of the slaveholding States.—They pervade the country and hold all the citizens in awe. The punishments inflicted are of the most dreaded kind,—death by the gallows or a slow fire, banishment, scourging, tar and feathers. This jurisdiction is known as *Lynch law*, and the accusers, judges and executioners, are generally the same persons. As was the case with the Secret Tribunal, it confines itself principally to State crimes, that is, to such actions as are supposed to have a tendency to overthrow the existing system of despotism. This system of Lynch law, which sprung into existence among the barbarous settlers of the backwoods, where no law existed, and which was invented by them as a substitute for law, has of late been introduced into the oldest and most civilized of the slave States, and has been made to supercede the regular administration of justice in a variety of the most serious and important cases. The terror of this tribunal is sufficient to preserve a dead silence at the South, and to produce an apparent unanimity of opinion. There are no doubt numbers who still entertain the opinions of Washington, of Henry, and of Jefferson, upon the subject of slavery; but no one dares, in public or in private, to utter those opinions. No one known or suspected to be an Abolitionist—and this word at the South obtains a very extensive signification—ever reside or even travel in the slave States without imminent danger. Such, under a system of despotism, is the liberty even of those called free.—*Hildreth.*

Humanity.

I know no better pledge of success and happiness in a young man than that assemblage of sentiments, feelings and dispositions, which, for want of a better name, I shall denominate humanity. It has the testimony in its favor of the whole world. It is called by various names under different circumstances. The man of the world affects the appearance of it, because he finds it necessary to success; the real gentleman labors after it; the true enlightened Christian possesses it. It is nothing more nor less than the sentiment of reverence for human nature in every form and every condition, respect for what is truly excellent, admiration for what is truly great, sympathy for all that is miserable, compassion for all that is weak, and growing out of it justice, delicacy and honor in all the business of life. These sentiments may be difficult to maintain through life. Ambition besets the young man, and urges him to climb, no matter whom he jostles, or whom he overthrows; the end seems to justify the means.—This same spirit of humanity should come in, and lead him to reflect that the world was not made for him alone, but for all who will honestly strive for its good things. Prosperity assails him and he is tempted to treat his fellow creatures with negligence or hauteur, because he can do so as he supposes with impunity. This blessed spirit of humanity must come in, and subdue the swelling heart to the simplicity of a child. Adversity overtakes him, and then his whole temper and character are in danger of being soured. He is tempted to repine at his lot, and look with an evil eye on those whom misfortune has left unscathed. This same gentle spirit of humanity must come in and teach him the hardest of all lessons, to sympathize with that prosperity which he cannot partake. Evil companions attempt to seduce him into the paths of sensuality and intemperance. Next to religious principle, the most powerful restraint is this same spirit of humanity, which tells him that by going wrong he cannot injure himself alone. There are others, who ought to be dearer to him than life, whom his misconduct will involve in ruin, and cover with shame. Thrice then is he prepared to succeed, thrice is he armed against all mortal ills, not only whose habits are good but whose sentiments, feelings and dispositions are pure, generous, noble and elevated.—*Burnap's Lectures to young Men.*

Thoughts.

BY LYDIA MARIA CHILD.

* * * * "I have felt
A presence that disturbs me with the joy
Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime
Of something far more deeply interfused,
Whose dwelling was the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean, and the living air,
And the blue sky, and the mind of man."
WORDSWORTH.

The day was closing in, and as I sat watching the scarcely moving foliage of a neighboring elm, my mind gradually sank into a state of luxurious repose, amounting to total unconsciousness of all busy sights and sounds of earth.

It seemed to me as if I were seated by a calm, deep lake, surrounded by graceful and breezy shrubbery, and listening to most delicious music. The landscape differed from any thing I had ever seen. Light seemed to be in every thing, and to emanate from every thing, like a glory. Yet I felt *at home;* and could I see a painting of it, I should know it as readily as the scenes of my childhood. And so it is with a multitude of thoughts that came suddenly into the soul, new as visitants from farthest Saturn, yet familiar as a mother's voice. Whence do they come? Is Plato's suggestion something more than poetry? Have we indeed formerly lived in a luminous and shadowless world, where all things were light as a garment? And are our bright and beautiful thoughts but casual glimpses of that former state? Are all our hopes and inspirations nothing but recollections? Is it to the fragments of *memory's* broken mirror we owe the thousand fantastic forms of grandeur, or of loveliness, which *fancy* calls her own?

And the gifted ones, who now and then blaze upon the world, and "darken nations when they die"—do they differ from other mortals only in more cloudless reminiscences of their heavenly home?

Or are we living, separate existences, at one and the same time? Are not our soul's wandering in the spirit land while our bodies are on earth? And when in slumber, or deep quietude of thought, we cast off "this mortal coil," do we not gather up images of reality, that seem to us like poetry? Might not the restless spirit of Byron have indeed learned of "archangels ruined" those potent words, which, like infernal magic, arouse every sleeping demon in the human heart?

Are dreams merely visits to our spirit-home; and are we in sleep really talking with the souls of those whose voice we seem to hear?

As death approaches and earth recedes, do we not more clearly see that spiritual world, in which we have all along been living, though we knew it not? The dying man tells us of attendant angels hovering around him. Perchance it is no vision; they may have often been with him, but his inward eye was dim, and he saw them not. What is that mysterious expression, so holy and so strange, so beautiful yet so fearful, on the countenance of one whose soul has just departed? Is it the glorious light of attendant seraphs, the luminous shadow of which rests awhile on the countenance of the dead? Does Infancy owe to this angel crowd its peculiar power to purify and bless?

"Not in entire forgetfulness,
And not in utter darkness,
But trailing clouds of glory do we come
From God, who is our home:
Heaven lies about us in our infancy!"

Life.

"How, truly does the journey of a single day, its changes and its hours, exhibit the history of human life! We rise up in the glorious freshness of spring morning. The dews of night, those sweet tears of nature, are hanging from each bough and leaf, and reflecting the bright and myriad hues of the morning. Our hearts are beating with hope, our frames are buoyant with health. We see no cloud, we fear no storm; and with our chosen and beloved companions clustering around us, we commence our journey. Step by step, the scene becomes more lovely; hour by hour, our hopes become brighter. A few of our companions have dropped away, but in the multitude remaining, and the beauty of the scenery, their loss is unfelt. Suddenly we have entered upon a new country. The dews of the morning are exhaled by the fervor of the noonday sun; the friends that started with us are disappearing. Some remain, but their looks are cold and estranged; others have become weary, and have laid down to their rest; but new faces are smiling upon us, and new hopes beckoning us on. Ambition and Fame are before us, but Youth and Affection are behind us. The scene is more glorious and brilliant, but the beauty and freshness of the morning have faded and forever.—But still our steps fail not, our spirits droop not. Onward and onward we go: the horizon of happiness and fame recedes as we advance to it; the shadows begin to lengthen, and the chilly airs of evening are usurping the noon-day. Still we press onward: the goal is not yet won, the haven not yet reached. The orb of Hope that had cheered us on, is sinking in the West; our limbs begin to grow faint, our hearts to grow sad: we turn to gaze upon the scenes that we have passed, but the shadows of the twilight have interposed their veil between us; we look around for the old and familiar faces, the companions of our travel, but we gaze in vain to find them: we have outstripped them all in the race after pleasure, and the phantom yet uncaught, in a land of strangers, in a sterile and inhospitable country, the night-time overtakes us: the dark and terrible night-time of death, and weary and heavy laden, we lie down to rest in the bed of the grave!—Happy, thrice happy is he, who has laid up treasures for himself, for the distant and unknown to-morrow.—*Knickerbocker.*

Don't Forget to Lime.

A short time since a farmer was inquired of, why he did'nt use lime as a manure? His reply was, "I can't afford it."

What, can't you afford to make your fields produce twice as much grain and grass as they have heretofore furnished? I don't understand that kind of logic.

Well, I don't see how I could well afford to buy lime; it costs money you know!

Yes, it costs money, that is true; and what is the use of money but to lay it out in such way as to make it produce more, in the same way that we sow wheat and plant corn, in order that we may get more wheat and corn in return.

The true plan of using money is to vest it so as to make it as productive as possible; and there is no way that I know of, by which the farmer can make his funds increase faster, than by so applying them as to increase the fertility of his farm.

That wise old farmer, William West, admonished his friends and neighbors "to be kind to the soil;" well knowing from his own experience that the result would be prosperity; but those who go on skinning and impoverishing it, are acting the part of the old woman who killed the goose that laid the golden egg: they soon arrive to that state when they think—"They can't afford to lime."

There is a class of people in the world, and some of them are called farmers, who despise small things, and therefore they can never achieve great ones; they are too proud to thrive, and too lazy to grow rich; and because they can't do things on a large scale, omit to do them altogether, and these are people—who can't afford to lime.

George Esher, the worthy and successful farmer and horticulturist, who is referred to under the heading of "More fruits of industry and intelligence," in vol. ii. p. 306 of the Cabinet; humble as was the commencement of his career in life, could always afford to buy manure, because he knew that if he enriched his soil, it would in turn enrich him, and in this way they have been going on for half a century, conferring reciprocal benefits on each other, and it is now a question not easy to determine which is the richer, George or his farm, for—He never said he could'nt afford to lime.

Those who think they can't afford to lime much, should lime a little; make a beginning, for there is nothing like commencing to do right. A farmer some years since was prevailed upon to buy lime enough to dress about ten acres of his ground; this gave him a start, and the increased produce gained by his trial, has induced him to continue it since, and from that time he began to thrive, and now he thinks—He can afford to lime. —*Farmer's Cabinet.*

A Quaker's Letter to his Watchmaker.

I herewith send thee my pocket clock which greatly standeth in need of thy friendly correction. The last time he was at thy friendly school, he was no ways reformed, nor in the least benefitted thereby; for I perceive by the index of his mind, that he is a liar, and the truth is not in him; that his motions are wavering and irregular; that his pulse is sometimes slow, which betokeneth not an even temper; at other times it waxeth sluggish notwithstanding I frequently urge him; when he should be on his duty, as thou knowest his usual name denoteth, I find him slumbering and sleeping—or, as the vanity of human reason phrases it, I catch him napping. Hence I am induced to believe he is not right in the inward man. Examine him, therefore and prove him, I beseech thee, thoroughly, that thou mayest, by being well acquainted with his inward frame and disposition, draw him from the error of his ways, and show him the path wherein he should go.—It grieves me to think, and when I ponder thereon, I am verily of opinion that his body is foul, and the whole mass is corrupted. Cleanse him, therefore, with thy charming physic, from all pollution, that he may vibrate and circulate according to the truth. I will place him a few days under thy care, and pay for his board as thou requirest it. I entreat thee, friend John, to demean thyself on this occasion with a right judgment according to the gift which is in thee, and prove thyself a workman. And when thou layest thy correcting hand on him, let it be without passion lest thou drive him to destruction. Do thou regulate his motion for the time to come, by the motion of the light that ruleth the day, and when thou findest him converted from the error of his ways, and more comformable to the above mentioned rules, then do thou send him home with a just bill of charges, drawn out by the spirit of moderation, and it shall be sent to thee in the root of all evil.

Magnanimity and Gratitude of a Lion.—Prince, a tame lion, on board his Majesty's ship Ariadne, had a keeper to whom he was much attached; the keeper got drunk one day, and, as the captain never forgave the crime, the keeper was ordered to be flogged; the grating was rigged on the main deck, opposite Prince's den, a large barred up place, the pillars large and cased with iron. When the keeper began to strip, Prince rose gloomily from his couch, and got as near to his friend as possible; on beholding his bare back, he walked hastily round the den, and when he saw the boatswain inflict the first lash, his eyes sparkled with fire, and his sides resounded with the strong and quick beatings of his tail; at last, when the blood began to flow from the unfortunate man's back, and the "clotted cats" jerked their gory knots close to the lion's den, his fury became tremenduous, he roared with a voice of thunder, shook the strong bars of his prison, as if they had been osiers, and finding his efforts to break loose unavailing, he rolled and shrieked in a manner the most terrific that it is possible conceive. The captain, fearing that he might break loose, ordered the marines to load and present at Prince; this threat redoubled his rage, and at last the captain desired the keeper to be cast off and go to his friend. It is impossible to describe the joy evinced by the lion; he licked with care the mangled and bleeding back of the cruelly treated seaman, caressed him with his paws, which he folded round the keeper as if to defy any one renewing similar treatment, and it was only after several hours that Prince would allow the keeper to quit his protection and return among those who had so ill-used him.

Orchard Grass.—Of the grasses cultivated for meadows or pasture, on moist but not wet land, there are few more valuable than the orchard grass, *Dactylis glomerata.* It is a very durable plant, springs early, grows with great rapidity when mown or fed off, continues the green late in season, makes an excellent hay, and as pasture, is much relished by all animals. It is particularly valuable as a grass to sow in orchards or woodlands, from which the under brush has been cleared, as it thrives well in the shade and by occupying the ground in such places, not only furnishes good pasture, but excludes weeds that would otherwise take possession. A mixture of clover, orchard grass, and timothy seed makes good mowing or pasture; the two last spreading and occuppying the ground as the clover dies out. Where the orchard grass is used alone, more seed should be put on than is generally used, as if thin it makes large tuffs, and will not mow or feed as evenly as when growing closer. Where frequent rotations of grain crops are practised, as in some of our wheat growing districts, orchard grass would not be equal to clover, and indeed nothing could be substituted for that grass, for alternating with wheat. Orchard grass seed is quite bulky and light, a bushel weighing under twenty pounds, and hence those unacquainted with its appearance and use, generally but imperfectly seed their land.—*Western Far.*

Joy and Sorrow.—As the most luxuriant plants thrive best with an equal mixture of sunshine and shade, showery and dry weather, and in a soil composed of sand as well as richer materials, mingled in due proportions together, so the human mind is a plant which thrives best with a just proportion of prosperity and adversity, joy and sorrow.

The union of goodness and beauty, is like that of the vine with a fruit tree, or the brilliancy of a jewel with its healing virtue.